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ABSTRACT

Organized labor's attitudes toward and involvement in public education in the United States from 1820 to the 1970s have been based on four fundamental propositions. The propositions are that labor believes: (1) education is one of the chief functions of a democracy and the only means of developing an enlightened citizenry, (2) all citizens are entitled to equality of educational opportunity, (3) elementary and secondary education are tools for acquiring basic knowledge and are part of a continuing life-long process of education, and (4) the labor movement should have a part in guiding educational policies. Review of labor's involvement in public education indicates continuing support for reforms such as free universal education, compulsory school attendance, child labor laws, federal aid to education, better school buildings, higher salaries and job securities for teachers, free textbooks, vocational education, small classes, more night schools, and meaningful realistic curricula. Organized labor's plans for the future include continued support of educational endeavors and an attitude of openness to changing social and individual educational needs. (DB)

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LABOR'S HISTORIC SUPPORT OF PUBLIC
EDUCATION

A CHRONOLOGY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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YOU LEARN TO BE INTELLIGENT

One's intelligence in large degree is a product of the life one has led.

Rich environments tend to produce intelligent people.

Starved environments are likely to produce dull people.

Dullness and brightness are achievements, and not necessarily gifts...

Those who are forced to live in underdesirable conditions are caught in a downward spiral of cause and effect...

Earl C. Kelly and
Marie I. Rasey

in EDUCATION and the NATURE of MAN



PUBLIC EDUCATION

"The early unionists who fought and won their battle for this key political priority understood they were fighting for the extension of democracy to working men and women. The Labor Movement today on a local, state and federal level are key supporters of education programs as a means of extending a full measure of democracy to all Americans.

There is, of course, a good deal of self-interest involved in support of public education by workers, who looked to education as a means of escaping from ignorance and poverty and of increasing opportunity for their children. But this enlightened self-interest benefited our whole society and helped its growth, economically and politically."

As UAW President Leonard Woodcock indicates, the interest of the American labor movement in public education is basic. The men of vision who founded the United States knew that their country needed an education system consistent with the new form of government. The constitutions of several states called for public schools and stressed the importance of an educated population. It was not until the desperate need for a free public school system became evident to large segments of the population, however, that progress was made toward the goal of free education. Until the citizens of the new democracy stressed the urgency of founding a free public school system, it was not possible to raise the necessary money for public education programs.

"The first U.S. unions in the 1820's and 30's campaigned for free public education and won their battle. Since then unions have continuously shown a deep concern for education."

***Andrew Jackson
U.S. President during the
first great struggle for
free public education.***

Throughout its history, organized labor has favored a broad, realistic and enriched curriculum for public education, and has believed that the gulf between education experiences and life experiences should be narrowed and merged into a unified and meaningful totality.

Labor's traditional attitude towards education is based on four fundamental propositions. *First*, we believe that education is one of the chief functions of a democracy. This idea dates back to Thomas Jefferson and his thoughts that if the people are to have the final say in our society, they must be enlightened enough to exercise their control with a quality of reasonableness and of discretion. Only education can develop an enlightened citizenry.

Second, we believe that the genius of America has rested upon the assumption that education of the people and government by the people run parallel. Consequently all citizens are entitled to equality of educational opportunity, regardless of race, creed, color or economic status.

We also believe that with the world moving at its present pace, education is and must be a continuing process. Elementary or Secondary school training must be considered as only the beginning of education, as a tool for acquiring knowledge, not as an end in itself.

Finally, we believe that the American labor movement has always shared with business, agriculture and the professions a partnership in shaping the destiny of the nation. It should therefore have a part in guiding educational policies.

Labor-endorsed public school curriculum is built around a social studies core, includes generous experiences in utilizing the scientific method in the study of the concepts of the natural sciences, is diversified and differentiated to provide for students of varied interests, and provides general education broadly conceived to include the vocational aspects of life. The curriculum, from kindergarten through college, must meet the needs of the students and of life, and is based on generalized life experiences of the American democratic society in its social, economic and political phases.

With regard to vocational education, the labor movement wants to achieve two major goals: First, it must equip our young people with all of the education needed to meet the skill requirements of the present and future labor mar-

ket. Second, it must educate our young workers to become citizens who will find satisfaction in their occupations and who will be proud of their accomplishments and contributions to our society.

The themes of free, universal education for all citizens, compulsory school attendance, child labor laws, Federal aid to education, better school buildings, higher salaries and job security for teachers, free textbooks, vocational education, small classes, more night schools, wider use of the school's plant and facilities, the expansion of the junior and community college program, more democracy in the schools, and meaningful, realistic curricula run through the following pages of the chronology of labor's support of and outstanding interest in public education.

But what of public education in the future? Labor believes that all children of today must learn basic knowledge about the physical and political worlds, as well as about the three R's, for only such knowledge can assure the survival and advancement of our civilization. In addition, an opportunity for advanced work must be extended to all who are interested and capable in keeping with the fundamental tenets of democracy. In a highly integrated and mobile country like ours, all aspects of Federal aid to education have proved their necessity and value. The program must continue to include all levels of education, since the needed assistance to colleges and universities can only have meaning to the degree that public elementary and secondary pupils acquire more and better education.

We must continue our educational posture of innovation and creativity, and remain open to the needs of both individuals and of society in a rapidly changing, vastly complex civilization.



Carroll M. Hutton

Carroll M. Hutton, Director
UAW Education Department

*"Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory
for humanity."*

Horace Mann



LABOR'S HISTORIC SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

1820

The demand for the consideration of public education provided the keynote of the workingmen's political movement. Charity schools were held to be incompatible with citizenship, for they degraded the workmen and failed to furnish them with the requisite training and information for consideration of public questions, thereby dooming them to become dupes of political demagogues.

"Rights are not gifts from one man to another, nor from one class of men to another . . . It is impossible to discover any origin of rights otherwise than in the origin of man; it consequently follows that rights appertain to man in right of his existence, and must therefore be equal to every man."

Thomas Paine
*On First Principles of
Government, 1796.*

1829

Free, universal public education was primary on the list of measures urged by the Working Men's Party founded in Philadelphia. The workingmen's committee which had been appointed to study the State school system recommended that: 1) public schools be erected in every locality in the state; 2) school boards be popularly elected; and 3) an "Open Ladder System of Schools" free to the children of rich and poor alike be established.

"Public funds should be appropriated to the purposes of education upon a regular system, that shall ensure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity." (Adopted by 2000 mechanics and workmen, December 29, 1829. New York, N.Y.)

1832

The New England Association of Workers asserted that the want of education is the great and original cause of comparative degradation of the mechanics and workmen in this country.



"Only the schools are free."
—*Education: A History*

1834

Labor's first great victory towards its goal of "an equal, universal, republican system of education" came when the Pennsylvania legislature enacted a bill establishing a free, tax-supported school system.

1862

Labor supported the Morrill Land Grant Act which represented the first assertion by Americans of the right and necessity of the Federal government to support State and local efforts on behalf of education. Six million acres of Federal land were donated to the states for the endowment of colleges to teach the agricultural and mechanical arts. The purpose of the Act was to ensure the development in each State of at least one college "to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts."

"Educated men are as much superior to uneducated men as the living are to the dead."
—*Aristotle*

1865

Labor supported a compulsory school attendance law for "all children between 7 and 15 years for at least 10 months

a year, and the furnishing of free textbooks at state expense."

1881

In its Declaration of Principles, the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor demanded adequate statutory enactments requiring and extending the length of compulsory school attendance, and the provision of free textbooks to all pupils in public schools irrespective of the economic status of their parents or guardians.

The First Convention of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (FOTLU) declared in its Constitution:

"We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce by compulsion the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands."

1885

FOTLU demanded the education of children through their fourteenth year and the prohibition of their working in mines, mills, etc. before that age.



1887

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) asked for compulsory education and the teaching of the science of government in the public schools.

"Parents will be compelled to send their children to school so as to enable them to acquire an education fitting them to become intelligent and important factors in the regulation of the laws and the system of government under which they live."

1888

Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). St. Louis.

Excerpt from convention resolution endorsing compulsory education.

"We recognize that the education of the people is the fundamental principle upon which the success of every proposed piece of social reform depends. Therefore (we favor) laws . . . whereby parents will be compelled to send their children to school."

1889

Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Boston.

Excerpt from convention resolution.

"The American Federation of Labor (AFL) . . . favors the greatest liberality . . . by the United States and state Governments to further and advance the cause of the education of the masses."

"... education is a bridge between man and his work ... between the present and the future ... between what we are and what we may become ... as individuals, as a nation, as a world ..."

U.S. Commissioner of Education
Harold Howe II
June 14, 1906

1890

The AFL supported the Second Morrill Act which provided for permanent annual Federal appropriations to each State and Territory for land-grant colleges and universities.

1891

Eleventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Birmingham.

Excerpt from convention resolution.

"We . . . urge the necessity of a thorough education of . . . children so that they may be able to judge in after years of their standing, rights and liberties that are guaranteed to a free people of which they are part and factors."

1892

Twelfth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Philadelphia.

Appointed an Executive Committee to formulate a draft of a compulsory education bill to serve as a guide.

Suggested that the Executive Council carry on a vigorous campaign of education.

"There can be no patriotism without liberty, no liberty without virtue, no virtue without citizens; create citizens and you have everything you need; without them, you will have nothing but debased slaves, from the rulers of the State downwards. To form citizens is not the work of a day; and in order to have men it is necessary to educate them when they are children."

Jean Jacques Rousseau.

1893

Thirteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Chicago.

Ordered a continuation of the educational campaign, according to which a number of well-known and able exponents of the cause of labor were sent through the country delivering lectures.

"Owing to the limited means at our command, we were unable to send (them) to many places where their services were needed . . . The localities reached attest the value of the services rendered."

"Property and labor in different classes are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor in the same class are essentially fraternal. . . . Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery."

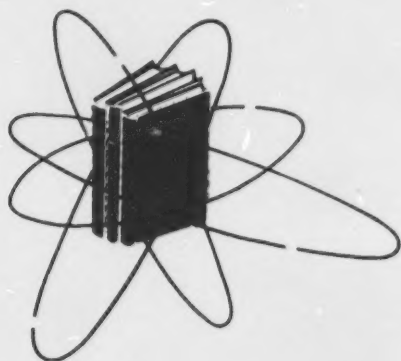
Horace Mann
Lectures and Annual Reports on Education, 1867.

1894

Fourteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Denver.

Insisted that compulsory education laws be strictly enforced in every state in the union and that when there are no such laws, efforts be made to secure their enactment.

"Education shall be the watchword of the labor movement in order that the masses may fully realize the importance of unity of action, regardless of creed, color or country."



*"True education makes for inequality;
the inequality of individuality,
the inequality of means;
the glorious inequality of talent, of genius;
for inequality, not uniformity,
individual superiority, not standardization
is the measure of progress of the world."*

*Felix E. Schelling
"Pedagogically Speaking,"
1929.*

*Started to issue a magazine, The American Federationist.
"A free and open forum for all schools of economic
thought . . . (devoted) to a strict advocacy of such
principles and policies upon which trade unionists are
agreed."*

1895

Fifteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

*Encouraged municipal establishment of institutions with
lecture courses, reading rooms and gymnasiums.*

1900

Twentieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Louisville.

Urged laws authorizing free school books.

1902

Twenty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). New Orleans.

Appointed a Committee on Education in the public schools, colleges and universities:

"(To determine) the attitude of . . . teachers in public schools toward the children of the working people and the economics of the day relating to labor . . . with the view of eliminating . . . such . . . teachings as are hostile to the best interests of the great mass of the people."

1903

Twenty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Boston.

Provided for a Permanent Committee on Education.

Urged the introduction of text books that will be more in accord with modern thought upon social and political economy.

"Books that will teach the dignity of manual labor (and) give due importance to the service that the laborer renders to society."

Suggested that colleges be encouraged to give lectures on the subject of trade unions at which representative unionists are invited to present their views.

"(We appreciate) the tendency on the part of some educational institutions to give more attention to the study of the trade union movement."

Insisted that political influence, so often required of school teachers, be eliminated, and that teachers should be compensated commensurately with the value of their duties.

"I know we have dependency of the ultimate power of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wise discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Thomas Jefferson
Letter to W. C. Jarvis
1820

1904

Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). San Francisco.

Urged that local and central bodies take up the question of obtaining the use of public school rooms for evening meetings of organized labor.

1906

Twenty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Minneapolis.

Committee of Education urged a congressional investigation of the following:

(1) Apprenticeship. (2) The displacement of labor by machines. (3) Sanitation. (4) Women in industry. (5) Graduates of trade schools. (6) Manual training schools of technology.

1907

Twenty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Norfolk.

Instructed the Executive Council to examine established and proposed industrial school systems.

"Applicants (for such crafts should) be fitted not only for all usual requirements but also for the highest supervisory duties, responsibilities and rewards."

"The average teacher does not have a chance to appreciate fully the industrial problems of the day. He is living on a fixed salary . . . and (is) independent of crises, strikes, trusts, etc., which so vitally enter into the life of the day . . . There has been . . . a growing tendency among trustees of both public and private universities in selecting new men to take those who have not said or written anything likely to antagonize possible donors . . . (Pamphlets and) the American Federationist . . . must largely tend toward disseminating a better understanding of the principles and philosophy underlying our labor movement . . . Nothing is so hurtful to our cause as lack of information."—President Gompers.

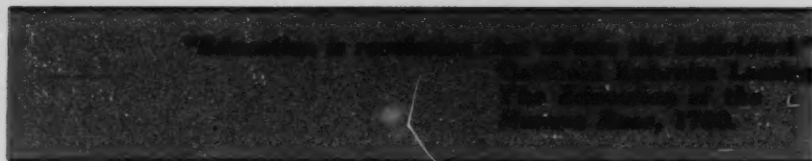
1908

Twenty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Denver.

Executive Committee directed Federation to appoint a committee of at least fifteen members to make an investigation of the methods and means of industrial education in this country.

Two . . . groups now advocate industrial education in

this country. Non-union employers advance industrial education as a special privilege under conditions that educate the student to non-union sympathies, and prepare him for scab labor and strike breaking. This group favors training the apprentice for skill in only one industrial process, rendering him helpless if lack of employment comes in his single subdivision of a craft. The other group is composed of great educators, representatives of organized labor and persons engaged in general social service, who advocate industrial education as a common right to be provided by general taxation and kept under the control of the whole people. They suggest a system that will make the apprentice a skilled craftsman in all the branches of his trade.



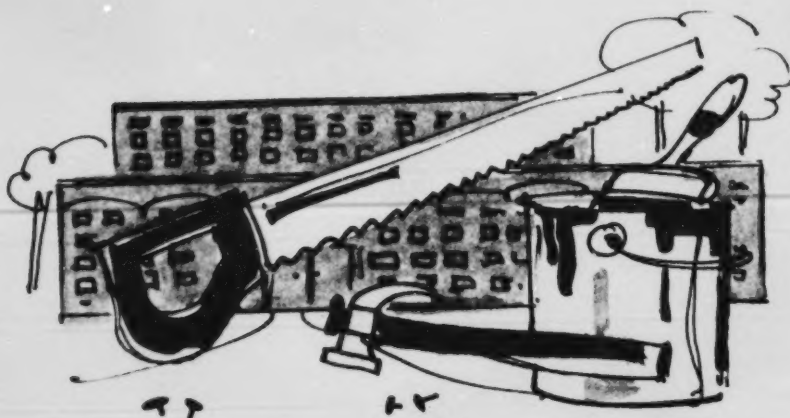
1909

Twenty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Toronto.

Accepted report of Committee on Vocational Education with the following findings.

(1) Favor the progressive development and establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of the trades, not necessarily in separate buildings but in separate schools, adapted to this particular education and by competent and trained teachers. (2) The course of instruction in such schools should be English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Elementary Mechanics and Drawing. The shop instruction for each trade should include the history of that trade and a sound system of collective bargaining. This will serve to prepare the student for more advanced subjects and to disclose his capacity for a special vocation. (3) In order to keep schools in close touch with the trades, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, employers and organized labor. (4) Any technical education of the workers in trade and industry being a public necessity, it should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public and the expense involved at public cost.

"The subject of education, industrially, concerns not only the wage-earners themselves but every inhabitant



of the nation. It is . . . eminently proper that it be administered by the same authority and agency which administers our public school systems and such other institutions as are concerned in the public welfare . . . Under the pretense of industrial education private agencies for personal profit have . . . (given) a narrow and special training to the detriment of the pupils, the workers and people generally."

1910

Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). St. Louis.

Announced that a labor bill for vocational education is in the calendar for early consideration.

Stated that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor agreed with a committee of the A. F. of L. for a comprehensive investigation throughout the United States to cover all the phases of trade and vocational training.

"Our school systems are giving only a one-sided education; the boy may go to school and prepare himself for professional or commercial life, or he may drop out of school and enter a trade with no particular preparation, and become a mediocre workman . . . While the public schools aim only at teaching professionals, the greatest need of America, educationally, is the improvement of industrial intelligence and working efficiency in . . . the boy who will work with his hands."

Declared in favor of a higher standard of wages and salaries for school teachers and endorsed efforts of teachers of Buffalo to improve their condition.

1911

Thirty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Atlanta.

Recommended that in all public schools free books be furnished the child at the expense of the state.

Favored public night schools for children over sixteen.

"We know from experience that existing economic conditions make it impossible for a large number of . . . families among the workers to give their children the education they should have, and also that a small number of our population . . . use the physical efforts of their children for their own support. (This arises from) (1) Lack of equitable economic conditions. (2) Lack of appreciation of parental obligations. (3) Remuneration received by said parents for child labor."

Favored appointing of a National Commission preliminary to securing educational legislation.

Such legislation should emphasize the necessity for "continuation schools, both of the part-time day type, for the younger boys and girls, and of the evening type for more mature workers, and . . . the all-day trade preparation school for boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen."

1912

Thirty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Rochester.

Reaffirmed declarations of 1909 and 1910 Conventions, with especial emphasis on the need for a Federal investigation of educational conditions in vocational schools.

"(We urge) a greater interest in the education of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States 50% of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade, at approximately fourteen years of age. . . ."

Advocated Labor Temples and wider use of school buildings.

1913

Thirty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Seattle.

Demanded that a sufficient number of school teachers be employed to give a reasonable degree of personal attention to each child.

Commended the Executive Council for its effort for legislation for industrial training, and instructed it to continue the work.

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends."

*Disraeli
Speech, House of
Commons, 1874.*

Deprecated the practice of high school instructors who are arranging so-called short courses in Mechanical Arts and Crafts to be taken in connection with cultural training.

"Thereby depriving the student of the benefit possible to be obtained through the application of full time to the cultural studies and giving him worse than nothing in return for the time expended in taking the so-called short course in manual training."

Instructed Officers of the Federation to draft a uniform text book bill and send it to the different state organizations for the use of those attempting to have the bill enacted into a law.

Favored university extension courses.

Encouraged the placing of labor literature and art in the public libraries and institutions of our country.

Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master Workmen of the Knights of Labor, 1879-1893, expressed in a letter his long-held views towards the kind of education to which workers' children are entitled:

"... It is and always has been my belief that the capacity of every child should be inquired into and discovered... every facility should be afforded every child to do the best that is in him... Privilege builds fences today that could not exist had the right kind of education been given boys and girls in the right kind of schools. Again, there should be but one school for American children... When a coming day finds us sensible enough to bring about the solidarity of childhood in one school, teaching one language under one flag, we may feel reasonably certain that the graduates from that school will feel a kinship for each other that the children of this day are strangers to. That kinship will emphasize and bring more clearly to view that independence the founders of this nation may have in view when they based the Declaration of Independence

on equality. . . . The time is so far away as to seem more dream than real when I had to combat—almost alone—the old world terms: “Master and servant.” . . . That “servant and master” idea was carried over the dam in the rising tide of education among American workers . . .”

1914

Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Philadelphia.

Noted the success of the friends and supporters of vocational education in the passage of the Lever bill.

Noted progress in the struggle for free text books and for the right of teachers to organize.

Called attention to the Agricultural Extension Act.

It contains many industrial education features advocated and supported by the A. F. of L. in behalf of agriculture and urban labor.

Reported a resolution passed by Congress and signed by the President providing for a commission to consider the need and report a plan for Federal aid to vocational education and trade and vocational training.

1915

Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). San Francisco.

Endorsed these recommendations of the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission.

(1) Compulsory daytime continuation schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 and 18, for not less than five hours per week at the expense of their employers. (2) Night schools for all persons over 18 years, desirous of further educational opportunities, either cultural or vocational. (3) Standards of efficiency for teachers.

Urged that the Federal government should afford generous financial aid to industrial education.

Protested against the continuous efforts made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinct board of management, separate from the board governing the general education of the child, for the following reasons:

(1) In approved industrial education, equal attention should be given to general education. (2) Industrial education should include the teaching of the sciences underlying various industries, their history, economic and social bearings. (3) All courses should be administered by the same board of education.



Urged the right of teachers to have the fullest opportunities for self-development and mutual aid, and their right to associate together for their individual and collective protection.

"Power now consists in control over materials. Men no longer dominate by political or religious controls but because of their superior ability to coordinate physical forces and material resources. Power, whether national or individual, is commensurate with the extent and the intensity of economic control. . . ." Previous educational methods dealt with abstractions. . . . Today and in the future education begins with those concrete things which appeal to the child, and through them works to the abstract.

Urged continued work in the establishment of an A. F. of L. library as suggested by the Philadelphia Convention.

Favored the establishment of free State universities where text books, tuition and laboratory work shall be free.



1916

Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Baltimore.

Encouraged the affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) for the "mutual advancement of those standards of democracy in education for which labor has stood down the years."

Called attention to the Senate bill providing for a Federal board for vocational education.

1917

Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Buffalo.

Called upon international and local unions to work for adequate representation of organized labor on all Boards of Education.

Advocated extension of the free text book system to such States as have not adopted it.

Advocated that teachers be secured tenure of positions during efficiency, and no dismissals without a fair hearing.

"While actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public must carefully assure itself that charges of disloyalty, . . . are not cloaks under which superior officers attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of teachers under them."

Asked for aid in securing immediate increases of teachers' salaries, affiliation of teachers with the A. F. of L. and an opportunity for them to play a more important part in the conduct and policies of our schools.

The AFL supported the Smith-Hughes Act which gave the states Federal funds to establish vocational education programs in industry, agriculture and home economics for high school students, and to train teachers and buy equipment for the broader new curriculum.

Urged support of the Federal Trade Training bill, as follows:

(1) All affiliated bodies to see that their respective states qualify under the act to receive the Federal appropriation for Vocational Education but only under safeguards that will adequately guarantee this federal money shall benefit our general democratic education and not be used to reinforce any interests which may attempt to pervert industrial education to the purposes of exploitation. The chief safeguard is the equal representation of labor and employers on all boards which control expenditures. (2) Increased facility in public normal schools for men and women in the trades who

1918

desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects. (3) Vocational and pre-vocational training for educational purposes only, and under no circumstances to be commercialized by the manufacture of products for sale. (4) The privileges and obligations of citizenship to be taught more vigorously and effectively than has been done traditionally. (5) In all industrial courses unemasculated history to be taught, which will include accurate accounts of the organization of workers, and a summary of all legislation, both state and Federal, affecting the industry taught.

Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). St. Paul.

Endorsed Federal bill requiring the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the U. S.

Urged reorganization of our public schools in the interest of children of all people.

"Labor played an important part in securing the establishment of our free public schools, but from the beginning they have been designated especially for the few who could go on to high school and college."

Especially endorsed the establishment of junior colleges without tuition so that young men and women who cannot afford to leave home can secure the advantages of adult training.

Favored adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people and the utilization for this purpose of the foreign language press.

Asked for continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

Asked for the organization and equipment of special classes for children who are subnormal either mentally or physically and also for children capable of making more rapid progress than is possible in a standard school.

Insisted on better enforcement of compulsory education laws and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of sixteen years.

Asked for the establishment of complete systems of modern physical education.

Urged the establishment of a Federal Department of Education headed by a cabinet officer.

Suggested the wider use of the school plant:

"Securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social and educational services to both adults and children."

Insisted on the extension of the free text book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.

Asked for the establishment of self-governing schools and district councils of teachers for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools.

"The recommendations of such councils to be made a matter of official public record."

Urged for teachers tenure of position during efficiency and no dismissals without full and fair hearings.

Insisted on a thorough-going revision upward of teachers' salaries:

"To meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services."

Insisted on the liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of revenues on a war-time emergency scale.

"England and France with their resources strained by the past four years and facing unpredictable immediate demands are making huge increases in the appropriations for their schools. Surely the people who gave the world the conception of free democratic education must not longer loiter behind."

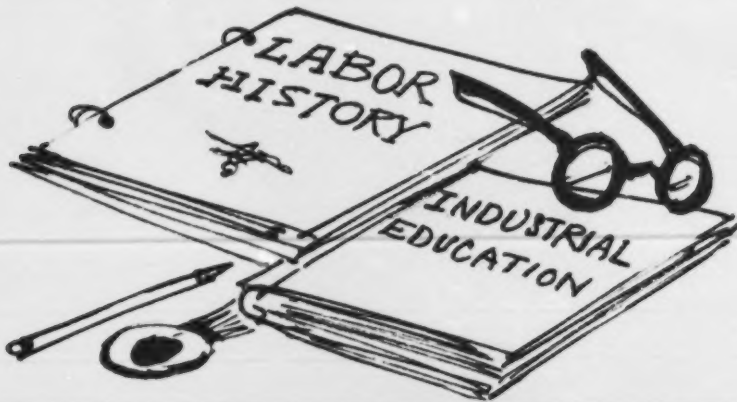
Urged that immediate steps be taken by State Federations to include the following program in State laws, so as to insure well balanced representative State Boards.

(1) A state board of education to consist of five members to be appointed from the state at large, two to represent education, one agriculture and one labor. Appointment by the governor for a term of five years.

(2) Advisory committees composed of representatives of trade, on local boards of education conducting vocational education.

Pointed out the following distinctive features of the act under which the Federal government furthers vocational education:

(1) Each state is free to accept or to reject the Federal financial aid. At the same time the states which accept the law remain free to develop and expand their own systems without dictation from Federal authority. The only control is that state plans must meet the approval of the Federal administration. (2) Representatives of Agriculture, Industry, Education and Labor shall be selected to administer the vocational law. (3) Certain members of the Cabinet, representing these departments are also designated as members of the Board. "We are glad to report that within six months after the appointment of the Board every one of the 48 states had accepted the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education law."



As additional points in Labor's educational program declared for the following measures:

(1) The development of vocational guidance and industrial education both urban and rural. (2) Provision of increased facilities in public normal schools for men and in the trades, who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects. (3) Expansion of both state and Federal educational facilities so that we will be decreasingly dependent on private endowments in the education field. (4) Courses in State Universities to prepare young men and women of labor for intelligent and effective leadership in the labor movement. (5) Vigorous and effective teaching of the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship. (6) Unemasculated teaching of history, with accurate study of labor history. The upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training in courses so flexible that a pupil would be able to remain in school longer than he had anticipated.

"There is nothing more frightful than ignorance in action."

*Goethe
Criticism, Reflections, and
Maxims, 1836*

Insisted on judicious part-time education for children who have reached certain ages or certain school grades and who contemplate taking some employment.

The following is suggested as a model part-time Edu-

cational Law for state use: "Any city, town or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments or classes, shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors of fourteen years of age, who are engaged in regular employment (and) shall require all minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen . . . to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week between the hours of eight a.m. and five p.m. during the school term. The same . . . shall be reckoned as a part of the number of hours that minors are permitted by law to work."

1919

Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Atlantic City.

Reasserted its general opinions of other years concerning education for wage earners' children.

"It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress."

Reindorsed the vocational education model laws of 1918.

Endorsed the use of English as a basic language in teaching, provision for teaching non-English speaking people, and free text books.

Reindorsed wider use of the school plant, reduction of size of classes, revision upward of teachers' salaries, reorganization of school revenues, aid of teachers' experience and initiative in administering schools, tenure of position for teachers, rights of teachers to organize, committees of education for all state and local bodies.

Advocated the provision of ample playgrounds as a part of the public school system, and the establishment of public forums in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the superintendent of the schools.

Executive Council requested an investigation of the advantage of the introduction of the metric system into this country:

"In view of the demonstration, by war conditions, of (its) industrial and educational value."

Urged that pupils, under intelligent supervision, should be encouraged to discuss current events and the problems of citizenship.

"This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance and of intellectual fairness toward oppon-

ents cannot be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise."

Protested against inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political and economic views of teachers.

"(This) is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike."

Endorsed a bill presented by Congress providing that the Commissioner of Education, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, devise efficient methods for teaching adult illiterates and men and women of meager education, promote plans for eliminating illiteracy, and extend education among the adult population.

Called attention to the current education bill calling for a Federal Department of Education and assigning to the Federal government a small proportion of the total cost of our school system.

"(We call attention) to the effective coordination under one broad agency of all Federal educational activities . . . as contrasted with piecemeal separate treatment of those closely connected subjects."

1920

Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Montreal.

Supported the principle of academic freedom by supporting the veto of a New York state bill which would have given the Board of Regents undue control of subject matter.

Changed Section 25 of the 1919 platform to read as follows:

"The most effective guarantee of democracy and progress in the schools is the affiliation of the teachers with the great democratic forces of organized labor."

"The affiliation of the teachers with organized labor is not confined to the United States. 120,000 out of 140,000 French teachers are so affiliated, as are the majority of the teachers in Holland." Also in England and Australia teachers have affiliated.

Reaffirmed its declarations of 1918 and 1919 concerning vocational education.

"Unquestionably the highest division of all science is that which considers living beings not alone as individuals but as aggregates, . . . whose general properties are embodied in history and industrial development. . . . If there be a people which has been busy making history on a grand scale, history which if it happened to be of Greece or Rome we should study with avidity, it is the American people in the making of industrial history. . . ." Our text books should contain reference to labor's activity in connection with the public school system, collective bargaining, child labor, women in industry, hours of labor, minimum wage rates, political action, union shop, initiative and referendum, equal suffrage, convict labor, health, workmen's compensation, etc.

Recommended the making of a careful and comprehensive survey and the preparation and distribution of a bibliography of all books, pamphlets and addresses dealing with industrial and economic problems.

"(Such bibliographies), which are founded on accurate information, sound principles, and which will prove helpful in removing the false conception of existing theories of industrial, political and social economy."

Suggested encouraging text book writers and publishers to avail themselves of the library and the records of the A.F. of L. Also the preparation of a text book by the A.F. of L. to supplement the existing works of President Gompers and other recognized authorities.

Endorsed companion bills presented in the Senate and the House providing for a Department of Education, the Secretary to be a member of the cabinet, and to encourage the states in the promotion of education.

"However even in some of the states which have provided effective legislation, there is an unfortunate tendency to neglect the continuation schools, particularly in the matter of equipment and . . . training of teachers. The state of New York has set an example for the country in providing \$2,000 scholarships to enable journeymen, . . . to gain through work in normal schools the craftsmanship of teaching."

Reaffirmed the need of advisory committees for administering vocational education in connection with State and local Boards of Education.

1921

Forty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Denver.

Adopted the following program:

(1) It is our belief and conviction that the essential studies and text books now used in the public schools should be investigated and carefully reviewed. Investi-



gation should relate to civics, political economy and history. (2) Faults of omission and commission should be clearly and fairly indicated. (3) There should be no endorsement given to any particular text book in order that the A. F. of L. cannot be subject to any unfair criticism. (4) The cooperation of the American Federation of Teachers should be secured. (5) The Committee on Education should cooperate with the officers of the A. F. L. in carrying on the work, within its proper sphere as recognized by the 1920 convention.

Suggested amending Department of Education Bill which passed the House but failed to pass the Congress as follows:

"Provided that courses of study, plans and methods . . . within a state shall be determined by the state and local education authorities . . . This act shall not be construed to require uniformity of courses of study, plans, and methods."

Made permanent the Special Committee on Education authorized by the 1920 Convention.

(1) To study the possibility of coordinating the present educational institutions and activities conducted under the auspices of organized labor. (2) To investigate the strength of the demand for a central Labor University. (3) To consider extension courses and scholarships.

Urged organized labor to demand in all communities high standards of cleanliness, attractiveness, sanitation and safety from fire in its school buildings, including:

An immediate building program to remedy the acute present congestion.

Urged a campaign against exponents of open shop policy.

"An apparently well-organized and systematic cam-

paigned... has been undertaken by the National Association of Manufacturers to conduct propaganda in the schools... in furtherance of the so-called 'Open Shop.' Nothing has been left undone... to mislead the minds of the teachers and students and to prejudice them against the best interests of the workers... Letters have been received from students in the colleges, schools and universities asking for labor's side of this industrial controversy and every possible effort has been made to correct the erroneous impression that has been created... The A. F. of L. will prepare pamphlets bearing upon this subject for distribution in such institutions.

1922

Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Cincinnati.

Approved the following findings by the Committee on Education which had been recommended at the 1921 Convention to determine the agencies and influences attempting to shape the attitude of public school teaching toward fundamental public questions.

- (1) Three main groups influence public school education. (a) Professional associations and official or semi-official agencies directly and regularly concerned with education. (b) Philanthropic foundations and societies of long standing, founded with educational objects, but representing various points of view of those not actively engaged in education. (c) Organizations not primarily interested in education but attempting to influence the public schools from their own special points of view.
- (2) Labor's interest is primarily in the teaching of civics, economics, history and industrial history, which, with the exception of American history, have only recently been introduced in public school curricula.
- (3) It is important to set up standards of evaluation after examination of the best representative texts. Publishers should be encouraged to enlarge the scope of treatment of these subjects and school authorities should be encouraged to use the most adequate texts.
- (4) The various bodies of the labor movement should be alert to oppose any effort to limit the independence or dignity of the teaching profession, or to introduce illiberal tendencies into public education. They should in every way encourage and assist the organization of teachers.

*"An even as every man says of the affairs of his State,
'What does it matter to me?' the State may be given
up for lost."*

*John Jayson Newman
The Social Contract, 1782.*

Approved a bill for physical education introduced but not passed by Congress.

Discussed report of a conference on secondary and collegiate education with the following findings:

Social studies are generally available only to the small percentage of students who complete their high school course. Our schools therefore fail to give the bulk of our future citizens any preparation for social living.

Recommended that organized labor shall make every effort to secure the repeal of measures of the type of the Lusk Laws of New York State.

"The practical result of such laws is to endanger the independence of teachers in dealing with social problems." Moral even more than academic freedom is being menaced (when) teachers are required to take a specific oath of allegiance and may be dismissed for deficiencies in character for 'disloyalty.'

Suggested reorganization of the courses of study throughout the public schools around the social studies, in order that our prospective citizenship may receive adequate preparation for social living.

1923

Forty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Portland, Ore.

Renewed its demand for free text books.

"It is, therefore, essential that organized labor shall devote its concern not exclusively to the elementary schools of our land but equally to the colleges and universities which so largely influence the education of the people. . . . The more general practice of supplying free text books in public schools . . . can be achieved only by collective efforts of all unions."

Reported repeal of the Lusk Education Bills in New York after a bitter struggle and urged the prevention of similar enactments elsewhere.

Suggested the following for a future educational program:

(1) To develop an increasingly constructive program for our schools. (2) To provide permanent education committees in organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. (3) To persuade unions and wage earners to co-operate actively in the work of adult education through the Workers Education Bureau.

Desired that representatives of labor in the various communities regard it as part of their public duty to serve on local Boards of Education or those of municipal or State universities supported by public funds.

1924

Forty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). El Paso.

Endorsed Woodrow Wilson Memorial College at Valdosta, Georgia, recommended that affiliated organizations take same action, and recommended contributions from such organizations toward erection of suitable building on campus.

Recommended provisions in Sterling-Reed Bill setting up Federal Department of Education and Welfare which would guarantee democratic administration of Department.

Recommended study of junior high schools, platoon system, and intelligence tests and urged cooperation of American Federation of Teachers be requested in such study.

Recommended that permanent Committee on Education consider during coming year best method of promoting trade education.

Recorded belief that adult education is indispensable for intelligent and constructive citizenship.

"... Adult education should be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community. It is an indispensable aspect of democratic citizenship and should be universal and life-long."

Commended the successful campaign in behalf of underpaid teachers in the District of Columbia before the last Congress, and urged every assistance to strengthen and develop the American Federation of Teachers in their efforts to organize teachers.

1925

Forty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Atlantic City.

Education Committee reported on the Work-Study-Play System as follows:

"There is no unity of opinion among labor groups upon the value of this method The plan itself is as yet in an experimental stage. . . . The problem of the most efficient use of the school buildings and school equipment . . . should not be determined solely by financial savings. Until statistical evaluation . . . is available, all decisions will be based on opinion rather than fact."

Education Committee reported on intelligence tests as follows:

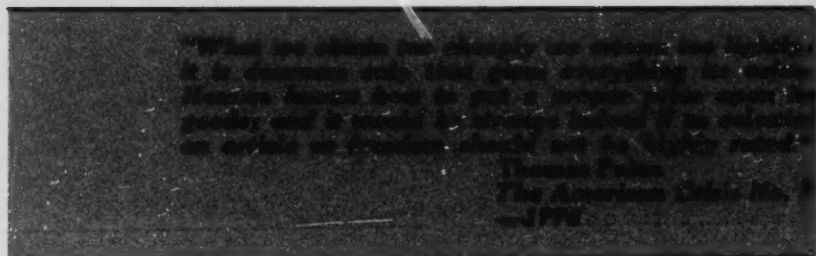
"The method is as yet so completely in the experimental stage that no judgment as yet can be formed as to its educational value. . . . Most of the tests measure only information and a special level of intelligence rather than mental power."



Reported continued study of social science text books, and recommended that results be made available in suitable form when completed.

"Our purpose is to contribute constructive suggestions, not to promote propaganda on behalf of any group or movement."

Suggested the drafting of a model compulsory education bill to be recommended to affiliated central bodies. Continued to work for uniform education laws as an assurance of an educational minimum in every state in the union.



Noted the defeat of the Sterling-Read Bill providing for a Department of Education.

"The most effective opposition came from those who objected to further federal aid to the several states for any purpose at all. There was also strong objection from private and parochial schools."

Recommended a new Department of Education bill, providing that the Secretary be in the President's cabinet.

"Such a department . . . shall be in charge of education and be guided by the highest educational standards. Any effort to place (it) under either political or military influence should be opposed . . ." Labor should be represented on it.

Commended the effort of unions to make their official journals the mediums for the education of the member-

ship and suggested the expansion of such service in the interest of public education.

Suggested a joint committee of the A. F. of L. and the A. L. A. in order to:

"Promote educational service through the public library . . . (and cooperate) in putting upon library shelves technical trade books of greatest value to the workers."
"If the Labor movement is to have the same power that it had in the past, it must keep alive the memory of the selfsacrifice and devotion of the early founders and pioneers. . . . Education is the process by which man associates the past with the present as a guide for the future."

1926

Forty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Detroit.

The Committee on Education reported sending local committees a work program showing how labor could participate in directing the development of the local public school system and reaffirming the need of:

(1) Labor representatives on boards of education and boards of public libraries. (2) Adequate appropriations for schools, etc.

Prepared a draft of a model provision for compulsory school attendance legislation.

"According to the 1920 census practically a million and a half children over seven years and under fourteen . . . were not attending school."

"Compulsory attendance is directly connected with . . . child labor. And there is perhaps no provision of our laws that is more systematically and more deliberately evaded."

Called attention to the more favorable retirement law for teachers in the District of Columbia than for Federal employees and ascribed it to the very general movement for teachers' pensions.

1927

Forty-Seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Los Angeles.

Recommended Federal aid to reestablish public schools in flood stricken areas.

Secured a number of educationalists and others interested in the field of child welfare to serve as an advisory committee for the development of model compulsory school attendance laws.

"Child labor increased from 1924 to 25. . . . A large majority of the states and cities show an increase, over 25 per cent in a number of cases, in the number of employment certificates issued. . . . There have been very few advances during the last two years in . . . compulsory school laws. . . ." A few states have made progress but nine failed to pass compulsory education bills.

Commended the organization of teachers into trade unions.

"The past year has seen a definite improvement . . . in this field. This indicates that an increasing number of teachers are becoming socially minded and developing a social awareness and civic conscience."

Condemned the pernicious legislative tendency to attempt to determine the content of the social and biological sciences by special interests.

Urged better opportunities in rural schools.

"(Such schools are now) so inadequate as to constitute a severe indictment of our nation and to be a leading cause of illiteracy and other social and economic dangers. . . . The inability of many districts adequately to finance schools resulted in a short compulsory school year, in some states as low as four or five months . . . Boys and girls just out of the eighth grade are often employed as teachers, and professional training among rural teachers is rare."

Took cognizance of the nursery school situation and asked the Committee on Education to report on it.

"Many of our leading universities and of our prominent psychologists are giving much attention to study and experiment with this particular period. . . . If it is intended that the junior kindergarten or nursery school become a part of our educational system we should be informed as to its value or lack of value."

1928

Forthy-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). New Orleans.

Commended the work done by the special committee for enactment of good compulsory education school attendance laws and their effective administration.

Noted report of Executive Council that there has been an increase in all types of schools this year except trade

extension schools.

"The continuation school is the branch of industrial education which serves the greatest number of workers."

Supported teachers of Seattle in their fight against the "yellow dog" contract, in which as a condition of employment or re-employment, they must sign individual contracts declaring they are not members of the A. F. of L.

"This act depriving our loyal and patriotic teachers of their privileges as citizens may be the entering wedge of a movement to deprive all public service employees of their fundamental civic rights."

"A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

*Henry Brock Adams
The Education of Henry
Adams, 1897.*

Opposed the use of public or private schools to spread propaganda of special interests.

"(We condemn as) unworthy of the confidence and trust of the American people those institutions which have been proven to be subsidized by special interests and which are carrying on under the guise of disinterested research, propaganda in favor of the interests which are subsidizing them."

1929

Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) Toronto.

Reported the following legislation affecting labor:

(1) Vocational rehabilitation act extended to the District of Columbia (2) Vocational education extended to agriculture for payment of teachers, supervisors and directors.

Urged a campaign to secure representatives of organized labor on the Text Book Commission.

1930

Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Boston.

Urged the permanent Committee on Education to hold



meetings to deal with problems such as mass education, large school units, overlarge classes, control of schools by special interests, illiteracy, revenue problems, and curtailment of school costs.

Noted with gratification that Congress has extended the Free Text Book Law to cover public senior high schools in Washington, D.C.

Noted the failure of censorship in the field of school book publication.

"Censorship is inimical to the normal growth of judgment and taste through education, that is aided by the free criticism of experts as well as by the no less sincere preferences of those who constitute the general reading public."

Noted that except in a very few states Workmen's Compensation Laws are not applied to teachers and urged that efforts be made for general application.

"In Illinois . . . it has been shown that they can be so applied."

Adopted as its policy tenure of office for teachers after two years of temporary service with proved efficiency, and an endeavor to secure the adoption of such a policy as the general policy of the country.

Opposed the introduction of military training into the schools.

"The compulsory character of military procedures is contrary to an educational environment where flexibility of mind and initiative on the part of children are the prime factors."

Recommended an effort to secure an early enactment of the Blaine bill or any other suitable protection measure, in order that teachers of the District of Columbia may not be restricted in their Constitutional rights of petition to Congress.

1931

Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Vancouver.

Urged such members as are parents to partake in the activities of the Parent-Teachers' Associations of their communities.

Denounced discriminatory tactics in the employment of teachers and unwarranted inquiry into personal affairs on grounds of sex, race, creed and other extraneous considerations.

Urged that immediate steps be taken to absorb unemployed teachers into the school system. Suggested that this be done, reducing classes to a maximum of thirty children each.

Went on record as favoring compulsory full-time education to the age of sixteen, for all children in every state.

Summarized the work of the A. F. of L. during the past fifty years as follows:

"Organized labor was the major instrumentality in establishing the public school system. . . . No labor convention has been held in recent times which did not devote an appreciable part of its time to a consideration of the school problem. . . . Every one of its demands aims at the improvement of the schools. Among these are—better enforcement of educational laws, wider use of the school plant, reduction in size of classes, revision of salary schedules upward (more democratic participation of class-room teachers in the conduct of the schools, labor and teachers' representatives on school boards), tenure of position for teachers during efficiency, text books for social sciences, . . . promotion of adult education, elimination of adult illiteracy, workers' education and vocational re-training for the unemployed."

Stated educational gains made by the Federation during the past fifty years.

In 1881 there were compulsory attendance laws in (Sixteen states and the District of Columbia). Now every state has them. In 28 states attendance is required up to the age of sixteen and in fifteen the upper age is seventeen or eighteen, at least in some localities. 27 states require children up to eighteen to attend part time continuation schools but proper provision is not made for establishing such schools. Attendance

varies from four to eight hours and in most states counts as part of legal working hours. . . . Work permits are required for children in 45 states and the District of Columbia, with in most cases, definite and educational requirements, and an age limit of sixteen or in a few states seventeen or eighteen, and in 16 states completion of the eighth grade. . . . The A. F. of L. was also instrumental in securing the Smith-Hughes Act under which a Federal Board of Vocational Education was authorized.

"The time has arrived when the representatives of labor can take . . . a most advanced position upon the question of human rights. . . . (Today) this great army of the unemployed stands as a menace to the security of governmental institutions." — President Green.

1932

Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Cincinnati.

Recommended a nation-wide investigation into school finances, urban and rural, to ascertain and publicize the following questions:

- (1) How school finances are raised and how disbursed.
- (2) What portion goes into instruction, physical equipment, maintenance and other labor costs, and what proportion is intentionally diverted from its proper uses.

"This should include the relation of public schools to public welfare to discover how the public schools function in our national economy and what is their worth as a social institution."

Urged vigorous action against curtailment or elimination of any school activities necessary to maintain and improve the educational standard.

"In time of financial stress and disturbance, among the most serious steps in so-called economy is the curtailment of school activity."

Recommended that the Department of Education make a rapid survey of what is now being done to retrain our unemployed adults for new skills and new occupations.

Undertook for the coming year a publicity campaign to present to the public the real effect on the rising generation of injury to the public school system.

These so-called economies take the following forms: reducing teachers' salaries and employing fewer teachers, or teachers of little training and experience at the lowest salary levels, shortening the school year, increasing the size of classes, postponing the erection of new buildings and the purchase of equipment and supplies, elimination of subject matter (health edu-

"Education is a communion which is uniform in degree, as when one Father, as when one Christ, as when one nation, as when a friend, shares an introduction, an attitude, a vision and in reality an argument. It teaches that a public school is first of men, grace and government to guide. What is it? What is man? A spiritual being, a reasoning being."

Joseph Addison

Urged increase in public school expenditure.

1933

Agreed to petition the President of the United States to use his good offices during this emergency to help save our schools.

Sought to secure legislation making available to the several states funds sufficient to maintain the free public school system.

36



percent. Many cities and counties have paid them in depreciated non-marketable commercial paper or not at all. . . . Tax delinquency is the principal cause of the break-down of the state and local school systems. Those who through so-called Taxpayers' Leagues or Economy Leagues are bemoaning the taxes are loud in their demands that the social services of the community be cut. We cannot simply sit by and watch the passing of the free public school. The nation's responsibility is clearly set out. . . . Federal aid in education is not federal control.

Recommended an adequate teachers' training program for those who would teach our working people.

Renewed its pledge of utmost endeavor for the protection of education from the kindergarten through the university.

"The kindergarten is one of the three services most frequently curtailed or eliminated in the so-called economy program." For years the Labor movement sought to have kindergartens established in our schools and finally saw (them) in all but four states.

Maintained that the lowest salaries of teachers should be established on the following basis:

- (1) Basic subsistence. (2) Provision for emergencies.
- (3) Reasonable comfort and decency in living standards. (4) Professional culture and study.

"There should be no discrimination in the amount paid to men and women . . . married or unmarried . . . on the basis of sex, race, religion or social status."

Proposed that proper basic salaries be protected by the minimum wage laws.

Endorsed the committee report on vocational education

and urged support of this valuable branch of educational service.

Recommended that directors of Civilian Conservation Camps be requested to plan an educational program for these camps and to administer it in cooperation with the proper authorities.

"The vital need for a truly social program in these camps is glaringly apparent."

1934

Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). San Francisco.

Recommended that every possible effort be made to secure immediate relief to the schools of the impoverished drought areas and for teachers employed by schools unable to pay them. Recommended that the standard of wages for these teachers be at least the wage scale received by skilled labor.

"The problem is not exclusively an emergency one. . . . While the schools should be locally administered and the funds locally disbursed, it is as a permanent policy the obligation of the Federal government to provide a substantial share of those funds."

Commended securing Federal loans for educational purposes.

"As an immediate emergency step, continued effort to secure for the nation's educational institutions the right to borrow . . . at a low rate of interest through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation."

Commended emergency Federal appropriations for the research work of the U. S. Office of Education.

Commended the development of the educational program of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the co-relation of their vocational training with public employment agencies.

Noted that a bill providing an appropriation of three million dollars a year for three years was passed last year, the appropriation to be divided equally between agriculture, education, home economics and home education.

"(We) regret the failure of the amendment which provided that none of the funds authorized should be allocated to any state or territory to pay salaries of teachers, supervisors or directors if they are denied the right to join any legal organization of their own choosing."

Insisted that the abolition of the Federal Board for Vocational Education was a serious mistake, reaffirmed its belief in such a board as provided by the Federal act

of 1917. Urged the President to restore it to its full activity and to appoint on it active representatives of the employing, labor and farm groups.

The original Smith-Hughes bill provided that appropriations could not be used by the states until they created similar boards patterned along lines of the Federal Board. The appropriation must be used for trade extension courses and for the training of teachers of vocational education to instruct classes of journeymen and minors. The funds could not be used for shop courses for any particular trade. It was necessary that young people be actively employed before they received craft instruction. Young people were to be taught in the day time and journeymen in the evening. The Williams committee, in an effort to entrench, recommended the elimination of one-tenth of the appropriation each year for ten years. After ten years there would be no more funds for vocational education.

The President of the U.S. restored the appropriation but has not yet revoked the order which abolished the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

Declared for an enriched curriculum suited to our modern society and adapted to a changing world, including:

- (1) Kindergartens. (2) Vocational education. (3) Music. (4) Art. (5) Manual training (including wood, fibre, textile, metal work, drawing, printing). (6) Home economics. (7) Physical education. (8) Health services, etc.

"Education is the essential companion of social progress."

Adams.

Urged the Federal Government to work out and finance a program for equalizing educational opportunities throughout the nation at a desirable level, including:

- (1) A minimum school year. (2) Equal standards of education for all children in a given state. (3) Regularly licensed and qualified teachers. (4) Expenditures of funds solely for instruction, supervision, educational supplies and plant operation and maintenance.

Called attention again to the breakdown of the local tax system with the consequent disastrous effect on the schools.

"Labor is seeking a more just source of revenue for the schools. . . . (We recommend) taxes based on the ability to pay, i.e., inheritance and income taxes, levied and collected by the Federal government with the elimination of tax exemptions."

Urged the employment of only regularly licensed and qualified teachers.

1935

Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Atlantic City.

Reaffirmed its declaration of previous conventions on all of the following points:

(1) Direct grants to states of funds to enable them to keep open their schools. (2) Loans to educational institutions at a low rate of interest. (3) Refinancing of state and municipal paper money at a low rate of interest, so as to prevent curtailment of educational work. (4) Continued appropriations from the Work Relief funds for the Emergency Education Program. (5) Nursery school forums. (6) A tax basis which will assure the continuity of our educational services in the face of any future crises.

"During an emergency such as this we must use extraordinary methods. . . . Unless adequate emergency aid is rendered immediately millions of children will be denied an opportunity to a free public school education. . . . thousands of schools must be closed."

Reported that during the past twelve months an educational program for the CCC Camps has taken form and has begun to function actively.

"More than fifty-six per cent of the three hundred thousand enrollees participated in the courses which have forestry to automobile repairing. . . . Visual instruction, tuition by correspondence and the radio (were used)." (1) They have provided a most notable experiment upon a nation-wide scale for adjusting American youth to the machine age. (2) Their success rests not only upon their voluntary and democratic character but on the fact that they have been free of any suggestion of militarism. (3) The wisdom of placing the administration in the hands of responsible and experienced trade union officials has been amply justified. (4) It is imperative that their objective be made even more clear as primarily educational and secondarily the conservation of our national resources. (5) As a permanent part of our educational activity the responsibility for the development of (this) educational work should be placed in the U. S. Office of Education.

Reported on the net results of the Emergency Relief Education Project.

(1) In accomplishment candor compels the conclusion that the results have been something less than notable. . . . Setting up a vast educational program under relief authority has been the cardinal blunder. (a) Relief, rather than educational standards, have seriously impaired the method employed and the ends pursued.



(b) Division of responsibility in local communities between relief and educational authorities has proved unsound. The result has been inefficiency and inaction. (2) Changes and modifications of relief aims and shifts in administrative control have impaired any long time gain from the program. Continuity of policy and security of tenure are of first importance for effective education. Uncertainty and insecurity have characterized the whole effort. (3) Expenses have been unduly high. The EREP has not conserved the funds placed in its control. (4) At times there has been a gesture at cooperation with the A. F. of L., but not permanently. (5) Training teacher programs have been well conceived.

1936

Fifty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Tampa.

Called attention to the Teachers' Salary Act, approved in April, 1936, which raised trade or vocational schools in the District of Columbia from their present elementary level to the rank of junior high schools as to the salary schedule.

Called attention to bills introduced into the Senate and House of Representatives to provide for an appropriation of one hundred million dollars to assist states and territories in providing more effective programs of public education.

Referred to the large number of illiterates in the U.S. as disclosed by recent investigations.

Reported elimination of the requirement that an applicant in the U. S. Employment Service be graduated

from high school or college.

"Such requirement was an unfair discrimination against the worker who had not been able to secure class room training, but whose educational qualifications were nevertheless adequate."

Formulated conditions to safeguard use of Federal funds in plant training programs as follows:

(1) Conditions under which training programs within a private industrial plant during the working day at public expense may be granted:

(a) When the school system could not otherwise provide such training for want of the equipment and supplies available to the plant. (b) When teaching is under public control and supervision. (c) When there is public need of such a course and enough persons enrolled to justify it. (d) When it is generally recognized as part of the school work. (e) When determination, qualifications and salaries of teachers, content and length of courses, admission of students, supervision of instructors, and all other details of training progress are vested in the regular school officials. (f) Teachers must be paid by the procedure and through the same sources as they would be if teaching in the public school buildings. (g) There must be a definite plan of instruction, based on the standard practice of the trades or occupations involved.

Labor supported the authorization of the U. S. Office of Education to promote public school, college and university libraries.

1937

Fifty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Denver.

Directed the permanent Committee on Education to investigate the entire question of vocational education and take such action as will remove any cause for complaint.

"Until such time as the administration of vocational education in this country can give clearer evidence of its concern for the general public welfare, . . . the A. F. of L. will withhold its full and hearty support."

Asked once again for a Federal grant for education to be distributed to the several states with provisions which will prevent the funds from political control.

"Beginning with the depression the issue of Federal grants to local public schools became acute. Emergency grants were necessary to prevent wide-spread closing of schools in many states. . . . There has been a growing demand that this method of financing be made permanent. . . . Until we have a clear picture of the adequacy of our present educational institutions, we are not in a position to make intelligent Federal grants. . . . We

cannot build up bureaucratic control over education. Free institutions are largely tied up with education."

1938

Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Houston, Texas.

Approved the principle of Federal grants-in-aid for vocational education. Such a program should include the following amendments proposed by the Federation in the form of standards and safeguards:

(1) A well-planned program of general education for all children and youth, including suitable preparations for particular vocations and instruction by teachers who are carefully selected, competent, well-prepared and interested in the development of community life. (2) Safe and sanitary school buildings and suitable equipment, including books and other necessities. (3) Student aid when needed to permit able young people to remain in school at least up to the age of eighteen, as well as suitable opportunities for part time and adult education and adequate provision for all handicapped children. (4) A broad community program for the protection of the physical and mental health of all children. This should include well organized and completely staffed educational and vocational guidance services, and definite cooperation between the schools, agencies of health, welfare, guidance, etc. (5) Community libraries with adequate labor representation on their boards of directory. (6) School districts large enough to permit economical organization, effective supervision and a broad basis for local taxation. Boards of education broadly representative of the entire community and containing adequate labor representation. General instead of ear-marked grants to allow for local planning of local programs. (7) Participation of teachers in developing educational and administrative policies for the school system and in community activity. (8) Equalization of educational opportunities and standards throughout the U.S. Organization and support of rural as well as urban areas and of negro schools as well as white. (9) A national advisory committee of three representatives each of labor, the employers, and vocational educators, upon whose recommendation labor shall fix minimum standards to govern vocational education.

"Labor standards are depressed in low income areas because many boys and girls are not given education that would make them more resourceful and alert to opportunity of betterment."

Recognized the important service which organized teachers, in cooperation with labor, can play in determining how the schools may be of more service to the nation.

"The schools should be free from political control and exploitation, in order that they may provide more adequate training for citizenship in a democracy."

Urged a vocational training program built on a sound basis of scientific investigation and including:

- (1) A well-rounded education, not too narrowly conceived, particularly in the training of the younger pupils.**
- (2) The preservation of labor standards in all vocational schools. The avoidance of exploitation by the sale of the products of student workers in the open market, and the refusal to allow pupils of such schools to be employed later in private industry at anything less than the accepted minimum wage scale.**
- (3) The limitation of excessive numbers of pupils now being recruited for highly specialized training classes, with prohibition of intensive trade and industrial training before the age of eighteen.**
- (4) Adequate vocational training for Negroes.**
- (5) An advisory committee of equal representatives of labor and management in all vocational schools, including active committees in all affiliated labor bodies, to protect the interest of labor in education. There should be especial emphasis on the structure and administration of such programs in local communities. Vocational training should determine the real needs for employment in various trades and occupations. It should include all types of young people whether they plan to go into the professions or the skilled trades. It should be built up slowly through experimentation and scientific study. "A labor movement, one of the basic principles of which is craftsmanship, must always concern itself with the perpetuation of basic skills. The trade union is the depository of skill; it must remain so."**

Urged that Boards of Health require X-rays of the chest in examination of school students.

"In recognition of the occupational hazards in certain industries, . . . a thorough knowledge of a child physical set-up should be part of his entrance regulations to the vocational schools."

Suggested merging of the CCC Camps and the National Youth Administration under the title of the National Youth Service and placing them under the Office of Education at Washington.

"It is a serious matter when boys and girls are made to feel that there is no place for them in the social system. . . . Emergency should not become excuses for lower educational standards.

First Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Pittsburgh, Penna.

Approved the principle of Federal aid to schools and the program laid down by the President's Advisory Com-



mittee on Education.

The President's Advisory Committee on Education recommended a detailed program of Federal aid for the purpose of eliminating inadequate schools and educational facilities. The program provided for general federal grants, assistance for improving the facilities for teacher training, and in the construction of school buildings, aid for improvement in the facilities of State Departments of Education, grants for adult education, for rural library services and for cooperative research and planning, and provision for the education of persons whose training is the responsibility of the Federal government itself.

1939

The labor movement again urged that the Federal government give aid to public education so that educational opportunities will become equalized for all children in all sections of the United States.

The AFL asked for a "revision of the curriculum of secondary schools" and urged a comprehensive solution of the "youth problem."

The AFL introduced three new emphases in its program: 1) larger labor representation on boards of education; 2) more definite defense of the tenure rights of teachers; and 3) clearer recognition of the necessity of bringing teachers into the labor movement.

Second Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). San Francisco, Calif.

Called upon its affiliates to take their proper place upon school boards and join in local conferences to discuss educational policy.

Called upon the nation's educators to recognize further the concern of labor in public education and the role

which labor can play in making education a real instrument for implementing democracy.

Expressed its strong support for the enactment of legislation which provides for a detailed program of Federal aid to educational facilities throughout the country in rural and urban areas.

"Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave."

Henry Brongham and
Vaux.

*The Present State of the
Law, 1826.*

1940

The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) appeared before the Resolutions Committees of both major political parties and requested planks supporting academic freedom, Federal aid for education, extended facilities for vocational education, and enlargement of the program of the Department of Labor, including the Children's Bureau.

The AFL Permanent Committee on Education sent all affiliated state federations and central labor bodies the strongest statement in favor of adequate educational facilities and rights of teachers. The program included: 1) adequate financial support for schools including State and Federal aid; 2) reduction in class average to 25 pupils; 3) tenure of office for teachers; 4) sound retirement systems for teachers; 5) sick leave for teachers; and 6) adequate salaries for teachers, etc.

Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). New Orleans, La.

Pointed out the possibility of an undermining of the American educational system under the guise of a defense measure.

"We believe that adequate educational facilities are essential not only to the national defense program but also to a sound structure of democratic government after the present crisis has passed. The children in the schools today who will be faced with the tremendous responsibility of guiding the nation through the post-war economic, social and moral reconstruction, must be fully trained in the processes of American democracy. The fact that labor and education have been the first to suffer under the regimentation of totalitarianism is a grave warning to the labor movement in America to carefully guard the free public school system of the nation."

"Though one should be ready to die, he should not die until he has won a thousand times, he will conquer death and the more glorious victory."

*Seneca
Epistulae, 1.2*

Reaffirmed its support of Federal legislation designed to equalize educational opportunities among the States for all persons regardless of race, nationality, religion or economic condition.

"Equal access to educational opportunities is the key to equality of opportunity under democratic institutions. Equal access is possible for all only in the case of tax-supported institutions . . . emergency and defensive needs must not be allowed to interfere with adequate appropriations for that which is the bulwark of free institutions."

Called for the expansion or reorganization of public education.

It should include "the reorganization of high school curriculum to meet the needs of citizens in an industrial democracy, practical vocational training and discipline for the responsibilities of our democratic way."

1941

Fourth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Detroit, Michigan.

Urged the extension of educational facilities during the emergency wartime period and after, including Federal aid to education and the establishment of the agencies which will provide for expansion of education in the post-war period.

"All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the state of affairs depends on the education of youth."

Aristotle

1943

Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Boston, Mass.

Urged a study of taxable source and tax plans in relation to a consideration of State and local support in whole or in part for education.

"Local programs of revenue, heretofore largely predicated on the general property tax, and of late supplemented by the socially and economically unsound sales

tax, must be dramatically revised War is not a time in which to evolve and develop a well balanced program of taxes, grants, services to or from the Federal government, yet, the question of relation of aids and grants in lieu of taxes and in relation to taxes should have serious consideration for any well planned long term program of public financing."

Stated that the "financing of an equalized program of education on a national basis is impossible by local and state governments alone" and, therefore, called upon the U.S. Congress to enact legislation which would provide:

1. Federal aid to the States to enable the States to maintain their schools.
2. That in the program granting aid provision for permanent aid be in a bill separate from the bill granting emergency aid.
3. That the fund be distributed among the several States on the basis of an objective standard which will be predicated upon the recognition of the relative need among the several States for such aid.
4. That the funds for the benefit of the schools be distributed within the States in keeping with the State law.
5. That funds be made available to the States to enable them to care for the well-being of all the children in every State.
6. That the following minimum essentials be written into Federal law as a condition for granting such aid to the States:
 - A. All funds be distributed in such a manner as to prevent discrimination against minority groups or minority races.
 - B. The plan of distribution adopted within each State be made public before the funds are actually disbursed.
 - C. Each State be asked to work toward a minimum entrance salary of \$1,500 per year for every professionally trained, properly certified teacher in that State.
 - D. Minimum length of school year.
 - E. Statutory protection of tenure of employment for teachers.
7. The introduction and extension of a sound program of adult education in all States.

1944

The labor movement supported the Servicemen's Readjustment Act which provided Federal government aid for the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War II veterans.

Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Chicago, Illinois.



Called upon Congress to enact long-pending legislation to provide Federal aid to states for expanding and developing full educational facilities so all Americans can enjoy the full benefits of education.

Endorsed a national adult educational program and urged the Congress of the United States to appropriate Federal funds to promote a national adult educational program in cooperation with the several States and the administrative agencies thereof.

"A human being is not, in any proper sense, a human being till he is educated."

Horace Mann.

Ninth Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO). Grand Rapids, Mich.

Instructed the UAW, in cooperation with the National CIO, to "make a study to promote the inclusion of subjects to be taught in our public schools which will give a truthful account of the contributions the labor movement has made to the progress of this country and its welfare."

1945

The labor movement supported the Fulbright Act which established the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

1946

The labor movement supported the Vocational Education Act which provided further development of vocational education in the several States and territories.

Tenth Constitutional Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Stated that "The UAW-CIO stands for the best possible opportunity to all children for an education that meets with their personal needs and the needs of our democracy."

Called for Federal and State programs that will provide:

1. Student aid for boys and girls who would otherwise have to go to work to help them complete their schooling; and
2. Good counseling and vocational guidance service to help young people to make wise decisions about their training and their jobs.

Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Chicago, Ill.

Restated the issues involved in the need for Federal aid for education, and the methods by which such programs should be administered.

1. The rights of minority groups must be protected.
2. Education implies vastly more than formal schooling.
3. The well-being of the individual child is the concern of the Federal government.
4. Sound administrative safeguards are essential to any truly social program.
 - a. An absolute guarantee against any form of Federal control over the processes of education: curricula content, teaching personnel, textbooks, methods of teaching, etc.
 - b. A provision protecting the rights of minority groups.
 - c. A provision that the state and its political subdivisions be required to maintain, at least their present appropriations as a condition for getting further appropriations so that Federal funds should supplement and not supplant state and local funds for education.
 - d. A provision requiring the states and their subdivisions to meet at least a bare minimum appropriation from state and local funds to which to add the Federal funds.
 - e. A requirement that 75 per cent of the Federal appropriation be set aside for teachers' salaries.
 - f. A requirement that the funds should be allocated among the several states on a basis of relative need.
 - g. A requirement that Federal funds be made available for every part of the state in need thereof.
 - h. A requirement that the state receiving federal funds be required to publish its plans for the use of such funds before the funds are expended, and later publish a report on how these funds have been expended.

i. A provision for a Federal audit of Federal funds.

1947

Ninth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Boston, Mass.

Declared its deep concern for the better development of our children and youth and its firm conviction that an educated, informed and enlightened citizenry is an essential safeguard of our democratic heritage, as well as an assurance of scientific, technological, and cultural progress. To this end the CIO adopted the following policy and program:

(1) Demanded enactment of legislation by the 80th Congress providing for Federal aid without Federal control for public education, together with appropriation by the various states of increased funds for their schools, in order to insure higher salaries for teachers and expanded and improved facilities on every level of the educational system, from nursery to university; so that every child will have a good education, every class a good teacher; and every teacher a good salary.

(2) In order to attract teachers of high professional qualifications and to enable them to meet present skyrocketing living costs, proposed a basic salary schedule for the teachers of our country of \$3,000 to \$6,000, with higher salaries where local conditions permit.

(3) Supported the fight of the United Public Workers, CIO, to secure equal pay for Negro and white teachers and equal opportunities for Negro and white students at all age levels. At the same time, the CIO called upon the educational authorities in Washington, D. C., to take steps to end the system of segregated schools, at least within the boundaries of the Nation's capital, as an example before our country and the world of our determination to break down discrimination and the myths of racial supremacy.

(4) Demanded repeal of the so-called exceptional service increment plan by the New York State Legislature; in Delaware; Atlantic City and other localities that have adopted it.

(5) Demanded for teachers and students the right to join organizations of their own choosing, and to participate in the civic and political life of their communities. Upheld the right of teachers and students to conduct free, democratic exploration and discussion of controversial issues without fear of reprisal and without interference from thought-control witch-hunters.

Urged all affiliated locals and Industrial Union Councils:

(1) To take an active part in their communities in the fight for better schools and better educational services for our children;

(2 To support the efforts of teachers in their communities to improve their economic status and to protect their professional, civic and political rights;

(3) To facilitate in every possible way the organization of teachers into the National Teachers Division of the United Public Workers, CIO, in order to strengthen the teachers and assure the achievement of the goals cited above.

Supported legislation which would establish labor education extension services by which Federal and State funds would be available to those colleges and universities which established extension services or on-campus labor courses in conjunction with labor unions, and would be similar to the operation of the long-established agricultural extension service.

Sixty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). San Francisco, Calif.

Examined the causes of the decline of the public school as a major force in a democratic society, and proposed the following remedies:

1. The people of the community must be able to deal with a school as well as with school systems.
2. Teaching should be recognized as essential to education.
3. Qualified and gifted teachers should be encouraged to stay in teaching and be paid well for their work.
4. Curricula must meet the needs of the individual and his community.
5. Discipline must develop an appreciation for rights and accompanying responsibilities.

Called attention to the fact that two kinds of Federal aid are needed:

1. Federal support must be provided to raise the standard of the schools themselves as educational institutions.
2. Federal funds must be provided to make possible services for needy children to protect their health and welfare, and to make it possible for them to remain in school.

1948

Tenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Portland, Ore.

Stated that "Education in a democracy must be a continuing process beginning in childhood and extending throughout adult life, and must be made available and equal for all citizens regardless of race, color, creed, or geographical location."

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Ninth Constitutional Convention.



"The surest way to corrupt a youth is to instruct him to hold in higher esteem those who think alike than those who think differently."

Friedrich Nietzsche
The Dawn, 1880-81

1949

Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Cleveland, Ohio.

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Tenth Constitutional Convention.

Urged that at least 75 percent of proposed Federal funds for education go directly for teachers' salaries, and at least 3 billion dollars over a period of five years for a comprehensive, nation-wide school building program.

Urged that the full benefits of the education program and recommended legislation be applied to Puerto Rico as an integral part of the American economic unit.

Twelfth Constitutional Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO). Milwaukee, Wis.

Called for immediate enactment of a Federal Aid to Education bill.

1950

The labor movement supported Public Laws 815 and 874 which authorized Federal financial aid to local educational agencies in school districts in areas with large concentrations of Federally connected children for construction of school facilities, and authorized aid for current operating expenses.

Twelfth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Chicago, Ill.

Called attention to the fact that the nation was falling short of its goal of providing equality of educational opportunity.

"American children are suffering a tragic injustice because of the gross inadequacy of the educational services provided by certain states. This disparity is most glaringly evident in the contrast between the facilities in the low income Southern states and those in wealthier industrial states, while within the Southern states segregated schools for Negroes receive less than the amounts, small to begin with, that are appropriated for white children."

Urged the 82nd Congress to enact:

1. A general Federal aid to education bill so that, together with appropriations by the various states, improved facilities on the elementary and high school levels shall be assured, so that every child shall have a good education, every class a good teacher, and every teacher a good salary. This bill should provide:
2. A school construction bill to provide Federal aid for a comprehensive, nation-wide school building program.
3. A scholarship bill which, through Federal grants to the states, will make possible college education, for students who would not otherwise be able to attend.
4. An adequate budget for the present school lunch program.
5. A labor extension service bill which will provide for workers the same services now available to farmers through the Department of Agriculture Extension Service.
6. A bill authorizing \$35,000,000 a year for Federal grants to aid states in developing health services for children of elementary and secondary school age.
7. A bill to establish a five-year program of Federal aid to the states for setting up demonstrations of free library service in areas inadequately served or without any kind of library service.
8. Provisions in all Federal legislation dealing with education for proper safeguards against racial segregation and discrimination.

Urged affiliated International and Local Unions, City and State Industrial Union Councils and individual members to take an increasingly active part in parent-teacher organizations, in the selection and election of local school board officials and state boards of education.

Sixty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Houston, Texas.

Expressed itself wholeheartedly in favor of academic freedom in elementary and secondary schools, and in institutions of higher learning.

"There should be no legislation enacted in any free nation which would in any way attempt to control

1951

curricula or textbook content, teaching methods, or in any way seek to direct thought. Any legislative attempts to regiment the shaping of human thought is a serious threat to our free institutions, and should be strongly opposed at all levels."

Thirteenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). New York, N.Y.

Called attention to the educational needs of the 1960's, and the unmet responsibilities of the United States Congress.

"By 1960, approximately six million more children will be added to our public school system. More than 500,000 classrooms are needed and \$16,500,000 must be spent by 1960 if each child is to be housed in an adequate classroom. A quarter of a million elementary and secondary school teachers will be needed by 1960 for the sole purpose of meeting increased enrollments. In no field has Congress fallen down more completely than in education. It has refused to make any allocation of Federal funds for general school aid, for school construction, for school health services, for experimental library service for one-third of our population without such service, or for Federal scholarships for young people who are otherwise unable to attend college."

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Twelfth Constitutional Convention.

Urged the 82nd Congress to enact legislation allocating the royalties from the offshore oil developments on the continental shelf for the improvement of education in the United States.

Urged affiliated International unions and locals, and city and state bodies to support those organizations which are challenging segregation in education by means of court tests, both by resolutions against a segregated system of education, which is harmful to all children regardless of color, and by financial contributions to and participation in these court cases; and commended and endorsed the action taken by the General Counsel of the CIO in participating on behalf of the CIO in the suit brought in Arizona to enjoin segregation in the schools of that State.

1952

Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Thirteenth Constitutional Convention.

Called attention to the need to press its demands upon Federal and State legislatures.

In view of the strengthening of the reactionary coalition in Congress we must intensify our efforts to pro-

note among our membership and throughout the communities in which they live wider understanding of the dangers which confront our educational system, of the inadequacy of existing plans for meeting our school needs, and of the measures that can and must be taken to provide good education for all our children. On the basis of such an understanding of the needs and the means for meeting them, we are confident that the people will support and elect candidates for public office who will fight for the necessary expansion and improvement of public education.

1953

Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Cleveland, Ohio.

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Fourteenth Constitutional Convention.

Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Called attention to the economic elements of the American school crisis.

"Increased enrollment, higher costs, a need for additional expenditures for school facilities adequate to support the growing school population, the need for more teachers and for increased salaries to attract competent teachers—these are the economic elements of our school crisis."

Urged the United States Congress to enact:

1. A general Federal aid to education bill to supplement local expenditures for education and improve school facilities, including sufficient money to raise annual salaries of teachers above the present average of \$3,400.
2. The proposal that the royalties from the off-shore oil developments be put into a special fund to finance and improve education in the United States.
3. A school construction bill to provide Federal aid for a comprehensive nationwide school construction program.
4. A bill authorizing Federal grants to aid states in developing health services for children of elementary and secondary school age.
5. An adequate budget for school lunch programs to provide decent hot meals for children in all schools.
6. A bill to provide funds which will make possible college education for qualified students who would otherwise be unable to attend.
7. A bill to create a Labor Extension Service in the U. S. Department of Labor to provide for workers services similar to those now available to farmers through the Department of Agriculture Extension Service.



8. Clauses in all education legislation safeguarding Federal funds against their use for the purposes of supporting or promoting racial segregation or discrimination.

Urged all UAW local unions to:

A. Support, in every practical way, reasonable state and local legislative programs which have as their purpose raising funds to meet the growing needs of the public school system.

B. Initiate and support campaigns at the state and local level which will lead to establishment of educational TV stations. Such stations should be operated independently of commercial interests under the control of a group genuinely representative of the community. The full potentialities of this magnificent new medium should be used for general education as well as to make available to children in the classroom important educational resources which can be presented only in this manner; and

C. Join in the fight to defend the freedom of the teacher at the primary, secondary and university levels by urging their representatives in Congress to resist the drive against American education which under the guise of an attack upon Communism is, in fact, a deliberate attempt to turn our schools over to the forces of reaction.

"You have not converted a man because you have silenced him."

John, Viscount Morley
On Compromise, 1874.

1954

The labor movement supported the Cooperative Research Act which authorizes the Office of Education to conduct cooperative research with colleges, universities, and State educational agencies. The act included the following major provisions: 1) The cooperative research program in curriculum improvement at all educational levels; and 2) The Educational Research Information Center which was the first nation-wide information system designed to serve American education by providing ready access to research findings.

The labor movement supported the Library Services Act which established the Library Services Program.

Sixteenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Los Angeles, Calif.

Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Fifteenth Constitutional Convention.

Urged the 84th Congress to provide in all Federal legislation dealing with education that aid be given only to school districts operating in compliance with the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregated schools.

Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Los Angeles, Calif.

Reaffirmed its demand for permanent Federal aid to public education in five specific fields:

1. Federal aid for public school construction.
2. Federal aid for public school teachers' salaries.
3. Federal aid for loans and scholarships for needy students.
4. Federal aid for health and welfare services for all children.
5. Federal aid for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

1955

First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). New York, N.Y.

Reaffirmed the American trade union movement position that a public educational program be provided through which every child and youth can master the basic tools of learning; receive some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts, and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government; and urged the implementation of these principles through a program of adequate well built school housing; a democratically administered school system; statewide compulsory school attendance laws in which loop-holes are closed; free textbooks for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools; a curriculum, so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his

personal capacity; classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; the development of a strong teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility.

Affirmed five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid was needed immediately; public school construction; public school teachers' salaries; loans and scholarships for all worthy students; health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and the eradication of adult illiteracy.

Hailed the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court in denying that American children of various colors or races can have "separate but equal" school facilities, and urged its affiliated organization to give wholehearted assistance to communities in complying with the law of the land.

The AFL-CIO helped to plan the White House Conference on Education and urged the participation of its members in the hundreds of state, area, and community conferences held in preparation for the Conference because it thought it highly important that organized labor should take part in the preliminary outline of school needs and possible methods of meeting them.

Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agriculture Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO). Cleveland, Ohio.

Wholeheartedly supported the "decision of the U.S. Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the schools as a heart-warming reaffirmation of the democratic American principles that are embodied in the Constitution of the United States (and pledged) the resources of the UAW-CIO to help implement this decision."



Reaffirmed the positions taken by the Fourteenth Constitutional Convention.

Urged the U.S. Congress to enact legislation:

- 1. Appropriating immediately money to the public schools on the thesis of appropriate state aid formula to equalize educational opportunity to all children no matter what their state, color, race or creed.*
- 2. Authorizing Federal grants to help states develop mental and physical health service for children in the elementary and secondary schools.*

Directed the UAW-CIO to "develop a program of action aimed at making television, radio and similar communication activities assume a more responsible role in public education."

Urged all UAW local unions to:

(a) Support in all practicable ways, and especially through community action, state and local legislative programs to meet the increasing needs of the public schools; and

(b) Specifically organize and join in campaigns to bring about fair and equal and state-wide property assessment practices in order to protect the small home owner; and to win fair distribution of state tax funds. These funds should go to school districts wherein the school population resides, and where an effort is made by the local community to bear its just share of the tax burden and to provide educational opportunities that meet at least minimum standards. In many states this will require an intensive and vigorous campaign to reapportion the state legislatures to give voters in the cities representation which is related to population.

(c) Initiate and support campaigns in their communities and states for establishment and maintenance of educational TV stations under the control of committee representatives of the whole community.

1957

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Recognized that despite understandable concern over Soviet scientific advances, the country must guard against over-emphasis on education in science at the expense of the arts and humanities.

Our entire educational system needs strengthening, and the labor movement will do all in its power to help meet this crisis.

Reaffirmed its demands that, to protect the safety of the nation and help the States develop the well being of every citizen, the Federal government make available to all the States, aid for a program which shall provide:

- 1. Federal aid to the States for school construction,*
- 2. Federal aid to the States for teachers' salaries,*
- 3. Federal aid to the States for loans and scholarships for worthy students,*
- 4. Federal aid to the States for the eradication of adult illiteracy in addition to the Federal funds now authorized and expended for educational purposes.*

Supported an expanded vocational education program attuned to the needs of a changing technology, the continuation and the expansion of the Federal school lunch program, a Labor Extension Service in the U.S. Department of Labor.



1958

The labor movement strongly supported the innovative National Defense Education Act which was designed to strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs. Its major provisions included: 1) matching grants to states for the public schools and loans to private schools to enable them to buy equipment and materials and do remodeling for the improvement of instruction in nine critical subjects; 2) matching grants to finance language and area centers for undergraduate and graduate students; 3) the financing of research to develop methods and materials for the improvement of instruction in foreign language and area studies; 4) the financing of loans for needy students in colleges and universities; 5) grants to graduate students preparing for college teaching careers to help alleviate the shortage of college teachers; 6) the financing of advanced study for teachers, supervisors and specialists to raise the quality of instruction for elementary and secondary school students; 7) counseling, guiding and testing services to identify and encourage able students; and 8) the financing of research into uses of modern communication equipment for education.

"We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood."

Martin Luther King, Jr.
"Letter from Birmingham City Jail"

Third Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). San Francisco, Calif.

Declared its support of the Federal government providing leadership and financial aid for expanding public school construction, raising teachers' salaries, eliminating illiteracy, and establishing a realistic program of vocational education, geared to technological changes as well as manual achievements.

Supported a broad program of Federally-financed scholarships for "higher education of our most able young people to study the courses of their choice in the institution of their choosing."

Urged "Congress and the Executive to bend every reasonable and proper effort to bring about speedy compliance with the Supreme Court announcement that equal educational opportunity does not permit racial segregation."

Seventeenth Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-AFL-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Stated that "Because the economic, social and physical health of our nation is threatened by our educational failures, because we are the parents and grandparents of millions of children who are being denied educational opportunities, because we are concerned that our country shall continue to be great and prosperous and shall remain democratic we do hereby resolve to support and work for:

- 1. The adoption — as a beginning — of the Murray-Metcalf Aid to Education Bill.*
- 2. Reduction of average class size to 25 students or less, so that every child may receive the individual attention, which is indispensable if he is to be given the fundamental training needed as a foundation for full educational development.*
- 3. The appropriation of Federal and state funds to support extensive research in an effort to discover why so many children drop out of school long before they have achieved maximum development, and to determine what contributions the schools can make in the control of juvenile delinquency—one of the most awful and frightening diseases from which our country now suffers.*
- 4. The reduction, and eventual elimination, of all tuition fees at state supported institutions of higher learning, so that the child of the wage earner, the small businessman and the farmer, may have equal opportunity for full educational development.*

1961

5. The full acceptance of teaching as a profession, with professional standards and remuneration. The immediate goal should be the establishment of a national minimum salary of \$6,000.

6. The establishment of Federal scholarships which will make it possible for all worthy young men and women to continue to pursue learning whatever their financial circumstances.

7. The abolition of segregation in the schools — whether in the North or the South, along racial, class or national lines, to the end that every child no matter what his parentage, shall be afforded equal opportunity to grow and develop.

8. Any and all measures which seek to make education a national priority, to the end that American education may regain the pre-eminence it once held—but no longer does—as the freest, healthiest, most comprehensive public education system on the face of the earth."

The labor movement supported the Area Redevelopment Act which provided needed assistance to State vocational education agencies.

The labor movement supported Public Law 276 which authorized grants to train teachers of the deaf.

Fourth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Miami Beach, Fla.

Endorsed the following program for the support of education:

1) A comprehensive program of Federal aid to the schools for school construction and for teachers' salaries. Federal aid need not and should not involve Federal control of education. The diversity which local control of education permits is one of the finest features of American education, and nothing in a plan of Federal aid need curtail that diversity. But we do need once and for all to make certain that the diversity takes place within a framework of at least minimum equal opportunity for all students.

2) Federal aid should include special attention to expanding and improving testing and guidance facilities, especially in schools serving large numbers of low income families.

3) Increasing college costs should be met primarily by state and Federal funds. Higher education is a public responsibility. Federal aid is needed especially to help finance necessary expansion of college facilities. Special attention needs to be given in all state and Federal aid for higher education to the needs of community colleges, junior colleges and branches of universities.

4) A comprehensive program of Federally financed scholarships is long overdue. Such scholarships should

be based upon ability and they should leave students freedom of choice in selecting the institutions in which they wish to study and their major fields of interest. As a compromise plan, it is likely that there will be suggested a program of government supported student loans. Much has been made recently of the fact that the average college graduate earns \$100,000 more during his lifetime than the average non-college graduate. To the extent that this is true, the Federal income tax will recapture the additional expense to the government of a scholarship rather than a loan.

5) School desegregation has proceeded at much too slow a pace. There is need for decisive Federal action to enforce the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The education which children of minority groups have received heretofore has been so woefully inadequate that special attention should be given to this problem in Federal aid programs.

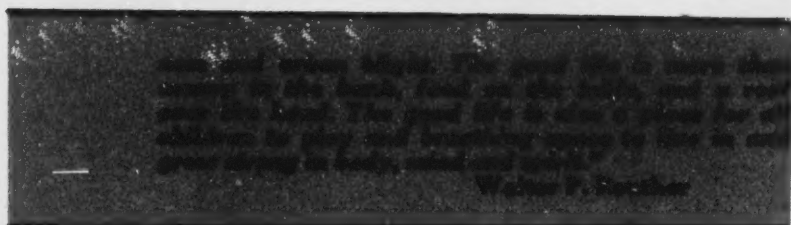
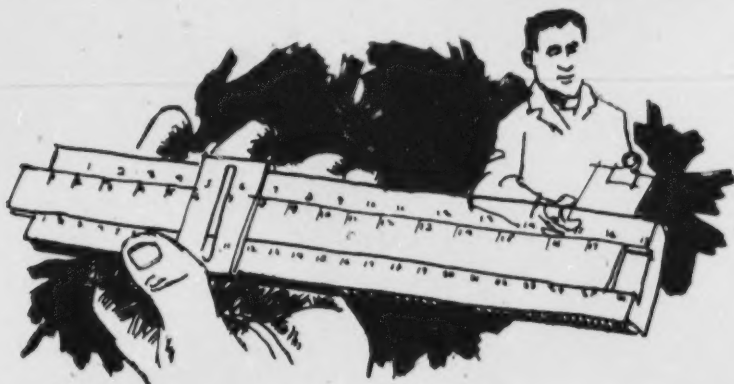
6) The children of migratory workers, moving from community to community, constitute a special educational problem. Few of these children achieve even minimal education. Special aid is needed for this group.

7) There is need for expanded and improved programs of apprenticeship and vocational education suited to the shifting needs of our changing technology. More Federal funds are needed to support these programs. As an immediate step the language of the National Defense Education Act should be changed to make Federal funds available for the training of skilled workers, and not simply, as at present, for the training of technicians.

8) The schools in a democratic nation should themselves be democratic institutions. Professionally qualified educators are most competent to plan the school curriculum and to establish educational standards. They should be free from the pressures of special interest groups which may seek to use the schools for their own purposes. The best assurance of a democratic school system will be the development of a strong union of teachers. The efforts of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) to establish the right to bargain collectively should have the support of all who believe in better schools.

We Have the Tools of Abundance . . .

"The 20th Century technological revolution has given us the tools of automation and economic abundance with which we can conquer man's ancient enemies—poverty, ignorance and disease. We can free the human family from material poverty. We must also work to create a living environment of beauty which will liberate man from the spiritual poverty of ag-



1962

The labor movement supported the Manpower Development and Training Act and subsequent amendments which includes provisions to prepare workers for modern industry by providing grants to train unemployed and underemployed people to get them back in the job market or to upgrade their abilities.

Eighteenth Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-AFL-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Resolved that:

1. We reaffirm labor's historic support of good and equal public schools.
2. We continue to urge enactment of adequate Federal aid to education for school construction, teachers' salaries, college scholarships and university facilities.
3. We continue to fight to end discrimination and inequality in our schools, whether based on race, religion, income, neighborhood or region.
4. We urge and work with school authorities to improve the teaching of basic skills, vocational training, counseling, social studies and economic education, school resources, and teaching methods.
5. We urge that through a combination of Federal, state

and local aid, the Higher Horizons type of special programs be expanded beyond their present pilot limits and made the central foundation of educational efforts wherever necessary to meet the special and urgent needs of culturally-deprived children and youth, in order that the children of lower-income and minority families may discover their own abilities and aptitudes, learn useful skills, and become full and equal participants in the mainstream of learning and of adult life.

6. We urge special consideration be given to aid the educationally deprived children of migratory workers who as they move from school to school, from community to community, lose the opportunity of achieving even a minimal education.

7. We support the drive for the improvement of higher education. Our institutions of higher learning need to be able to expand their facilities and strengthen their faculties. We support a broader scholarship program and are particularly interested in the development of non-residential community colleges in order to bring higher education within the reach of all who are qualified. We urge that the full potential of the university as a center for research and service in promoting regional economic development be realized in every state.

8. We encourage greater use of adult education programs, especially in the area of job retraining.

9. We oppose the anti-school efforts of the NAM, Chamber of Commerce, Republican-Dixiecrat coalition at local, state and national level.

10. We encourage full participation by members and local unions in an education-citizenship program to strengthen public education, beginning at the neighborhood and community levels.

1963

The labor movement supported the Vocational Education Act by which Federal aid for vocational education in secondary and above schools is augmented and broadened in a renewed attack on unemployment due to lack of job skills. The act included new fundamental principles upon which the vocational education of the future will be based:

1. Vocational education is now extended to all people in all fields of work (except where a professional degree is needed);
2. Basic and general education is recognized as a prerequisite for useful vocational education;
3. The states and the Federal government have the responsibility to review vocational education programs periodically to determine whether they match the projected manpower needs and job opportunities; and
4. In the future, a considerable amount of money will be spent by the U.S. Commissioner of Education for

research, experimental and pilot programs.

The labor movement supported the Higher Education Facilities Act which included programs to:

1. Finance the construction of college classrooms, laboratories, libraries and other academic facilities in order to keep pace with mounting college enrollments; and
2. Provide grants to colleges and universities to operate educational media institutes and workshops for faculty members, librarians and media specialists.

"Education is a social process . . . Education is growth . . . Education is not preparation for life; education is life itself."

John Dewey, Time

The labor movement supported the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act which established a program of research and demonstration projects to improve educational opportunities for handicapped children and youth.

Fifth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). New York, N.Y.

Stated that the AFL-CIO "is committed to the need for quality education for all American young people, wherever their homes may be, however rich or poor their parents, whatever their race or nationality background. To make that kind of education universally available to every child and young person in the nation will require the best efforts of communities, states, and the Federal government. It will require a much larger financial commitment to education than we have yet made, but it is a commitment which the nation can and must afford.

Enunciated the elements which it believed are necessary for quality education.

1. Every child should attend classes in good classrooms, well lighted and ventilated, equipped with adequate teaching materials. Classes must be kept to teachable size.
2. Each class should be taught by a professionally qualified teacher, skilled in the use of new methods of teaching, competently trained in the subject matter of his classes, and paid a salary which will afford a family standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by other professional people in the community.
3. Special attention must be available to develop to the fullest the potential of every child, particularly those, who have until now been educationally deprived such as the children of low income and minority families, children in the large cities, and the children of migratory workers.

4. The school must be a model democratic institution.
5. The classroom should be a meeting place for children of different races, different cultural backgrounds, and different levels of family income.
6. Schools must be sufficiently flexible institutions to prepare a variety of students with a variety of needs and interests for their future role in society.
7. Because of the multiplication of knowledge and the increasing educational demands which modern society places upon the individual, every young person should be required to continue his education until he is eighteen years old and he should have the opportunity to continue his education, free of tuition, through junior college, either as terminal education or as preparation for future work in college.
8. There must be available to every qualified young person an opportunity to continue his education through college and through graduate school.
9. Education is never completed, and every adult should have the opportunity to continue his education, whether he be seeking to learn new job skills, to acquire a basic education, to discover more about the problems of the world he lives in, or simply to find more constructive uses for his leisure time.

1964

The labor movement strongly supported the Civil Rights Act which includes two key sections directly concerned with public education which constitute the Equal Educational Opportunities Program. Titles IV and VI help school systems with their desegregation problems and see that the Office of Education does not make available any Federal assistance to school systems that discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The labor movement also strongly supported the Economic Opportunity Act which includes among its major provisions:

1. Grants for adult basic education programs; and
2. Grants to help underwrite the part-time employment of needy college students and enable thousands to continue their education with earnings from the College Work-Study Program.

"Men exist for the sake of one another. Teach them then or bear with them."

Marcus Aurelius.

The labor movement encouraged the Library Services and Construction Act which increased Federal financial assistance, extended benefits to urban, suburban and rural areas, and provided for construction of public libraries.



Nineteenth Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-AFL-CIO). Atlantic City, N.J.

Because we believe our democratic society and our economy can continue to grow and flourish only if we immediately halt the deterioration of our education system, and set it once again on the move toward the achievement of its historic goals:

1. We favor generous, immediate Federal Aid to Education. We favor distribution of aid based on school needs and community and state ability to pay. Special Federal assistance should be given to areas where poverty and deprivation exist. We urge that special consideration be given to aid the educationally deprived children of migratory workers who, as they move from school to school and from community to community, lose the opportunity to achieve even a minimal education.
2. We condemn proposals to distribute Federal aid to school systems which continue to defy the Supreme Court decision on school integration.
3. We favor a national minimum wage for teachers with Bachelor of Arts degrees of not less than \$6,000 a year. We urge adoption of selective service deferments to qualified young men who enter the teaching profession.
4. We oppose increased tuition fees at state-supported colleges and universities.
5. We favor the establishment of Federal and state systems of scholarships to make it possible for every qualified boy and girl to attend colleges and universities.
6. We condemn class bias in the schools and urge equal education for all. We oppose efforts to limit higher education to the so-called "brightest children."

7. We call for establishment and maintenance of adequately staffed psychological, psychiatric and counseling services in every school district in order to reduce the tragic problem of school "drop-outs." We urge close cooperation with school authorities to improve the teaching of basic skills, vocational training, counseling, social studies and economic education, school resources and teaching methods.
8. We favor reduction of average class size in every community below a top limit of 30 students per teacher.
9. We favor improvement of adult education opportunities for the whole population, and especially expansion of adult education in urban areas.
10. We urge that the free universal public education system be extended for the first time in more than 100 years to make 14 years of school attendance mandatory. We favor immediate expansion of junior and community college programs so that all high school students will be assured extended training and education.
11. We urge new and substantial aid for both public and school libraries so that our total population can keep current with accumulating knowledge.
12. We pledge our support at Federal, state and community levels to every reasonable effort to achieve the goals of equal education for every child and lifetime education opportunities for adults to the end that we may have an intelligent citizenry, a flourishing democracy, and a growing and prosperous economy.
13. We encourage full participation by members and local unions in an education-citizenship program which will strengthen public education beginning at the neighborhood and community levels.

1965

The labor movement strongly advocated the adoption of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which establishes new Federal programs to strengthen public education. It includes provisions to:

1. Aid schools in low income areas to improve the instruction of educationally deprived children in public and non-public schools;
2. Provide grants for supplemental services otherwise unavailable to enable schools to mount innovative programs to meet educational needs and to enrich courses of study;
3. Provide grants for the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks and other printed instructional materials;
4. Broaden the scope of educational research, provide grants for training educational researchers, and help pay for construction of related facilities;
5. Increase the supply of highly qualified educational researchers and to stimulate the expansion of research training capacity; and

6. Provide grants to enable the States to enlarge their Departments of Education, enlarge facilities, and buy equipment to better serve local school districts.

The labor movement gave much support to the passage of the Higher Education Act which establishes seven new programs designed to strengthen institutions of higher learning and provide student assistance. It provides:

1. Grants to strengthen the educational programs of the nation's smaller colleges;
2. Matching grants for the acquisition of instructional equipment, materials and related remodeling;
3. Assistance to help college and university libraries acquire books and other materials and to train more librarians;
4. Grants to institutions of higher education for academically qualified students who could not otherwise afford to attend college; and
5. For a National Teachers Corps to bring experienced or interested career teachers to slum schools.

The labor movement supported the National Vocational Student Loan Act which establishes a program of loans to students in vocational and technical schools.

The labor movement supported the Appalachian Regional Development Act which includes additional Federal financial assistance for vocational school construction and is a supplement to the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Sixth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). San Francisco, Calif.

Called for a massive commitment to education to enlarge and equalize opportunity. States and communities must make renewed efforts on behalf of their schools and the Federal government must expand the promising start which it has already made. An additional \$10 billion dollar annual Federal expenditure is needed, \$8.5 billion for elementary and secondary education and another \$1.5 billion to support and encourage free and low cost higher education. Such a program will prove to be an investment which will pay rich dividends in developing to the fullest the potential in all of our people—children, youths, and adults. It will also contribute an important part to the development of full employment and maximum economic growth.

1966

The labor movement supported the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments which represent an effort to teach illiterate people to read and write English, and improve their ability to participate in occupational training programs.

The labor movement supported the International Education Act which provides for the strengthening of American educational resources for international studies and research.

The labor movement supported the passage of the Cold War "G.I. Bill" which extended the educational benefits of the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act to the new veterans.

Twentieth Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agriculture Implement Workers of America (UAW). Long Beach, Calif.

Stated that "The American people need, and the UAW demands, an educational regime of abundance which will provide the budgets to give sufficient substance to the programs already started and to new programs needed to educate every American child to the limit of his individual capacity for work and life:

1. We support the AFL-CIO demand that the level of Federal funds for support of elementary and secondary schools be raised to roughly 25 per cent of total school expenditures, and that the basis for distribution of Federal aid in low-income communities be revised to take into account the children of families with less than \$3,000 income, rather than \$2,000 as at present;
2. To help support an educational regime of abundance, we favor the use of revenue from government-owned shale oil deposits for educational purposes;
3. We call for expansion of Project Head Start to prepare disadvantaged children of preschool age for success as they continue their education, and to improve their health; and for creation and continuation of special programs to maintain throughout school years the educational momentum acquired by deprived children through Head Start; adequate funding of the Teachers Corps program could serve these ends;
4. Toward the ultimate goal of free public education throughout the course of a lifetime, we support the recommendations of the Automation Commission for a general upgrading of education and for lifelong access to education and retraining, as outlined in President Reuther's Report to this Convention; we call for establishment and maintenance of adequately staffed psychological, psychiatric and counseling services in every school district to reduce the number of drop-outs; we favor the elimination of tuition fees at state-supported colleges and universities, and the immediate expansion of community and junior colleges to assure all high school graduates the opportunity to extend their training and education; and we oppose arbitrary restrictions based solely on grade averages which bar admission of students to schools of higher learning;
5. The rate of integration of students in our schools must be accelerated. Segregation by race must be eli-

minated, whether it is due to discriminatory housing patterns or to separate school facilities;

6. State and local taxation to support schools should be reformed to remove the unjust burden that falls on lower-income groups and to require upper-income groups to pay a greater share;

7. More of our able young people must be attracted to teaching by raising teachers' incomes; we therefore support the American Federation of Teachers' demand that teachers' salaries begin at \$7,500 and rise to \$15,000 in five steps;

8. To prepare our children for life as free men and responsible citizens in a free society, as well as for work, we favor a balanced curriculum throughout the school years, with substantially more emphasis than is presently placed on the arts and humanities as the chief means for producing well-rounded individuals rather than just narrowly trained technicians and machine-tenders. The age of automation demands better preparation for the constructive and rewarding use of leisure."

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

*George Santayana
The Life of Reason*

1967

The labor movement urged passage of the Public Broadcasting Act which extended the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962 and broadened it to include grants for educational radio broadcasting, and established a non-profit, non-governmental Corporation for Public Broadcasting to provide financial assistance for non-commercial educational television and radio broadcasting.

The labor movement supported the Teacher Corps Act which:

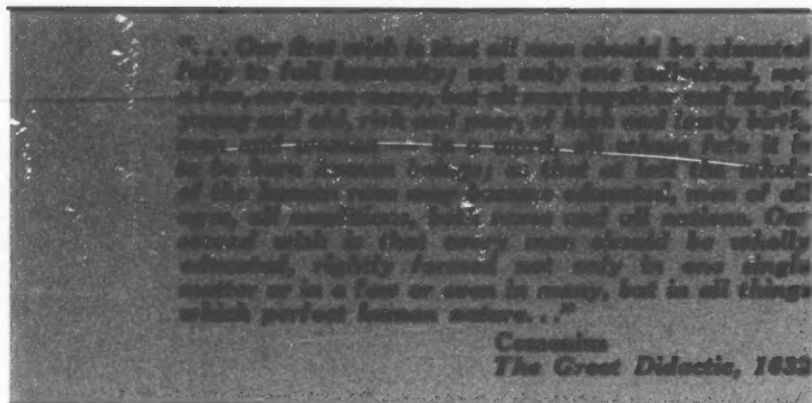
1. Provides Federal aid for existing programs of graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers;
2. Provides grants to colleges and universities to help them improve graduate education facilities; and
3. Authorizes new teacher training programs.

The labor movement also supported the Education Professions Development Act which established training programs for teachers, administrators and other professionals.

1968

The labor movement supported the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments which:

1. Expanded programs under the original 1965 Act;
2. Provided grants for a bilingual program to school districts having large numbers of Spanish-speaking children; and
3. Authorized a new program of incentive grants, based only on state performance on state and local expenditures for education.



Twenty-first Constitutional Convention of International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Stated that "The American people need and the UAW demands an educational regime of abundance which will provide budgets to give sufficient substance to the programs already started and to new programs needed to educate every American child to the limit of his individual capacity for work and growth: Toward these ends:

1. We favor the use of revenue from government-owned shale oil deposits for educational purpose.
2. We advocate strongly that all our young people be afforded 14 years of free education.
3. We continue to support the American Federation of Teachers in its efforts to improve education and to organize the teachers.
4. Efforts must be made to prepare minority youth for responsible and meaningful participation in the work and life of the community.
5. The "out of school" Neighborhood Youth Corps should be reoriented to provide work directed training.
6. The Neighborhood Youth Corps should be expanded.

7. Reformation of local taxation to support schools in order to remove the unjust burden from low-income groups.

8. We support the recommendation of the automation commission for general upgrading of education and for lifelong access to education and retraining. The elimination of tuition fees at state-supported colleges and universities."

We support the following recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders:

1. That the Teachers Corps be expanded into a "major national program."

2. End defacto segregation in our schools through federal aid to the school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with the neighboring school systems.

3. Elimination of racial discrimination in northern as well as southern schools.

4. Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.

5. Improve schools serving disadvantaged children through substantial federal funding of year-round compensatory education programs, improved teaching and expanded experimentation and research.

6. Elimination of illiteracy through greater federal support for adult basic education.

7. Enlarged opportunities for parent community in the public schools.

8. Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.

9. Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students.

10. Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

1. "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free..."

2. "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

The General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948

1969

Eighth convention of American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Stated its support of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendment of 1969 which:

1. Made it possible to put urgently needed additional efforts into the education of the economically disadvantaged.
2. Provided for a wide range of innovative educational programs.
3. Maintained the hard-won formula for allocating funds — especially those funds authorized under Title I — designed to aid economically deprived children.

The Labor Movement worked for the Vocational Education Act through each step of its enactment which:

1. Consolidated all existing education into one basic law.
2. Put vocational education more in tune with the rapidly changing occupational needs.
3. Placed special emphasis on serving more, the people in the central city.

The Labor Movement supported a program of full federal partnership in the financing of education from pre-kindergarten to adult education.

1970

22nd Constitutional Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), Atlantic City, New Jersey

Stated that we need new priorities for the 1970's— massive federal programs, supported by federally-assisted actions at the state and local levels to assure each child equal opportunity for the fullest education within his talents and his willingness to learn. Declared the need for programs which include:

"A society fashioned in harmony with the American democratic tradition would combat all forces tending to produce social distinctions and classes; suppress every form of privilege and economic parasitism."

George Counts "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?"



-
1. Basic literacy, high school equivalency, catch up vocation and technical training, general educational enrichment, homemaking and child care, college programs, in-service training.
 2. Associate degree in Labor Studies programs to be placed in more colleges and universities.
 3. Proper treatment of Labor and minorities in the textbooks of public schools with due consideration of their great social and economic contributions to American and Canadian history.
 4. Lifting the burdens of tuition fees and help buy books.

1971

Ninth Convention of American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), Bal Harbour, Florida.

Supported programs which provide:

1. Financial aid to non-public schools as well as public, as included in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
2. Education from pre-kindergarten through elementary, secondary, higher education, and adult educational programs.
3. Full funding of existing federal programs and expand these programs to bring federal support for education up to one-third of the nation's total education expenditure.
4. Enlargement of existing federal programs, institutions of higher education.
5. A renewed local, state, and federal effort to ensure the schools will be a meeting place for children of all races, ethnic, and economic backgrounds.
6. That the schools are made sufficiently flexible to fit the needs of each individual student.
7. A widening of educational options, thus enabling each individual to reach his full potential.

23rd Constitutional Convention of the International Union,
United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement
Workers of America (UAW), Atlantic City, New Jersey

Declared that the issue of "busing" has diverted attention away from the basic flaws in our educational system causing educational denial. To obtain quality education we need a massive commitment for the following goals:

1. A fair, non-discriminatory school system
2. A more progressive tax base which would equitably provide more money for education from those who can best afford it.
3. An increased number of teachers, better qualified, and better trained, assigned on the basis of pupil need.
4. More and better guidance counselors and administrators.
5. Curriculum improvements and the use of more modern and experimental techniques.
6. More community and parent involvement.
7. Adequate security in the terms of police protection.
8. Direct federal funding of schools.
9. A well financed, high quality, integrated educational system for young and old alike must be our goal. It stands among our foremost national priorities.

Stated that "America cannot wait to make the proper commitment to quality and equality of education. As we move toward quality education of necessity, we also move toward desegregation. The slow process of integration of neighborhoods takes too long; but busing or any other technique of integrating schools, might sensibly and rationally be used with the effort for quality education but not before it. In a democracy any ideal system of quality education must be non-discriminatory."

"In the final analysis, the future of the cities depends on the young people who will inhabit them. How those young people will turn out depends in large measure on whether we are prepared to make the necessary commitment to quality education. If Americans really make that commitment, we will stop chasing busses and build better systems of education."

Leonard Woodcock

Tenth Convention of American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), Bal Harbour, Florida.

Reaffirmed its past support for full funding of existing categorical aid programs in education such as are embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Higher Education Act, and the Library Services and Construction Act.

A survey conducted by Louis Harris and Associates for the National Reading Council showed that 18.5 million Americans—13 percent of all citizens 16 years or older—are so deficient in their basic ability to read and write that they are unable to meet the normal demands placed upon them by society. In the files of the U.S. Office of Education evidence continues to accumulate that our schools have failed dismally in their efforts to teach educationally disadvantaged children to read.

The Labor movement urged:

1. A renewed commitment to equal education opportunity for all Americans, wherever they live, whatever their race or national origin, or whatever their family income.
2. Tuition-free education through four years of college or other post high school education.
3. Greater federal aid to provide financial assistance to a variety of institutions including colleges, universities, community colleges and technical institutes.
4. Job related education with the conditions that there be no erosion of negotiated wage structure, or violations of child labor laws or undermining of apprenticeship standards.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT'S CONTINUING CHALLENGE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

Education functions to unlock, to nurture, the human potential and to permit its growth so that every member of society can develop to the best of his ability, from which all society benefits.

What is the aim of education in a democratic society? It involves the transmission and extension of democratic

values and traditions. It involves the development of the individual and the society in which he lives. It involves the directing of accumulated knowledge toward the satisfaction of human needs.

Democratic education must also involve and is inseparable from the concept of equality—whether by class, race or sex.

An aim of education should be the cultivation of creative citizenship so that the problems society confronts can be dealt with intelligently.

Education enriches the citizens who, in turn, enrich the society that provides the education.

The General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 proclaimed the aims of education in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26:

"Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free ..."

"Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

If education reflects the society in which it functions, then the extent to which a nation adheres to these principles may be the best way of judging that nation's commitment to justice, freedom, equality and democracy.

SUCCESSSES, FAILURES AND LIMITATIONS OF EDUCATION

How may we best judge the state of American education today — its successes and failures, its limitations, how far have we come and how far we still have to go.

Over 300 years ago, the great Czech educational philosopher, Comenius, wrote:

"... Our first wish is that all men should be educated fully to full humanity; not only one individual, nor a few, nor even many, but all men together and single, young and old, rich and poor, of high and lowly birth, men and women — in a word, all whose fate it is to be born human beings; so that at last the whole of the human race may become educated, men of all ages, all conditions, both sexes and all nations. Our second wish is that every man should be wholly educated, rightly formed not only in one single matter or in a few or even in many, but in all things which perfect human nature ..."

(from THE GREAT DIDACTIC, 1632)

The wishes Comenius expressed are as valid today as when they were written. But it is obvious that American society has not yet achieved these educational goals.

American education has failed in many basic ways to realize the challenges of a democratic society:

- it has failed to provide equal services to our Black, Spanish-speaking, and Indian citizens;
- it has failed to offer equivalent services to the poor as it offers to the rich;
- it has failed to eliminate functional illiteracy, thereby restricting access to better jobs;
- it has failed to provide adequate opportunities to our older citizens;
- it has failed to recognize the strength and richness of the diverse cultures that helped build our country's greatness.

Nevertheless, with all the writings about the crises of American education, there are successes that should not be overlooked.

- First is the tendency towards democratization of American education.
- Children generally today have access to more years of education than their parents received.
- In higher education, about three times as many college-age youth (over 40 percent) are enrolled in institutions of higher learning as compared with those enrolled prior to World War II.
- While class and race discrimination still persist and are reflected in these figures, and while equality of opportunity still does not exist, a greater percentage of minority groups and working-class children are participating in higher education than ever before.

Educational institutions are taking a greater interest and involvement in the affairs of society. Throughout the country, community colleges have been setting up associate degree programs in labor studies. About 50 colleges and universities have extension programs to help train and educate the leadership of unions. These universities and colleges are beginning to recognize that, just as they have traditionally supplied the educational needs of business, industry and the professions, they must undertake and extend their responsibilities to the labor community as well. Union members with a better understanding of how our society functions, and equipped with the skills to participate more effectively in its decisions, can also function more productively in the collective bargaining process and in the affairs of the community.

It is important to recognize successes, even while perceiving failures and inadequacies in public education, because the idea of public education is under attack from critics on the right and the left. Some of the so-called radical critics focus on the shortcomings of public education and seek to scrap it completely, while, on the right, elitists resent expenditures of funds for liberal education for chil-

dren of working people. "Working people do not need such 'frills'," they say, "restrict schools to teaching the '3Rs' and job training."

This point of view seeks frankly to maintain the *status quo* in society, to reinforce the social stratification system, to keep workers "in their place," satisfied with their lot in life. But this aristocratic concept of education is not in keeping with our democratic aspirations.

If we want to redirect education to be an instrument for social change, to reinforce our commitment to democratic values, to make it more responsive to human needs—then we must work toward that end, finance education adequately and equitably, and seek to provide genuine equality of educational opportunity for all Americans.

EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND THE COMMUNITY

There is probably no area that has been studied more and understood less than the question of how we learn.

We do know that learning is a lifelong process. Learning begins before the child is formally enrolled in school; it does not stop with the diploma. Nor is learning confined exclusively to the classroom—it can also occur on the job, in the union hall, through life experience, and in many other ways.

Labor education has functioned with the confident belief that adults, workers, union members, can learn and want to learn the skills needed to assume leadership roles in the shop, in the union hall, and in the community. Moreover, union members increasingly want to learn how the society functions, and how they can participate more effectively in decisions affecting them in the shop and in society.

Unions in many ways have operated to make additional educational opportunities possible for workers. Negotiated tuition refund provisions in collective bargaining agreements encourage workers who wish to continue their formal education. Early retirement provisions with improved and guaranteed pension benefits for life, hold forth the possibility of education for new activities. Many unions have negotiated educational sabbaticals with pay for workers.

The proliferation of community colleges throughout the country means that working people and the children of workers have more ready access to these commuting colleges, offering alternative courses of study and the option of moving on to four-year institutions.

Adult education in these ways becomes a lifetime process — and when it is relevant, alive, flexible, innovative, it can help enrich our lives, offer us additional options, and teach us how to live, learn and work productively in the real world.

For children, too, schools must offer relevant, alive, flexible and innovative education. If schools consider children as interchangeable parts of an assembly-line product, then boredom and failure will be the result. For every

individual is unique — what is learned and how it is learned and the pace at which it is learned will vary from individual to individual. Learning-readiness and learning-styles vary widely.

To maximize learning opportunities with this diversity, many school districts are investigating and adopting aspects of optional and alternative schools and programs. Community-based schools or schools-without-walls use resources of the community to advance learning. Such alternative programs will involve parents, students and teachers in planning and evaluating what is being done.

These and other innovative efforts to make the educational process vital and interesting should continue to be explored, and the encouragement of creativity should be fostered.

EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK

As in no other period of human history, we are living in a world of change. The knowledge and skills that we acquired in schools are obsolete today for our children, and they must be updated to be useful in our own lives. Advancing technology has revolutionized all aspects of modern society. Some of the most extensive changes have been in the world of work and in the changing patterns of our lives.

We have been told frequently that a young person entering the world of work today must face the prospect of changing occupations seven or eight times in his life and changing jobs even more frequently, because the career for which he has prepared himself has become obsolete. This creates some immediate implications for education.

This would seem to dictate that an education system that trains students narrowly for specific jobs will fail in its purpose. The development of specific technical skills is not the fundamental purpose of education. In today's world, when skills are becoming so rapidly outmoded, the acquisition of such skills is even less meaningful.

Education is much more than job-training. Education must prepare students to become constructive human beings, teach them how to become intelligent consumers, teach them how society operates and how to participate intelligently in its operation. It must teach them how to adapt to change so as to enrich the quality of their lives. It must teach them how to learn.

Vocational education has been looked on as the way society separates those who are college-bound from those whose fate it is to wind up in the factories. What is learned in these programs bears little relationship to the world of work, nor does it prepare the students to function productively in society.

The latest catch word on the education scene is "career education." It is not clear as yet whether the concept of career education will be a passing fad in a long list of educational panaceas. If it is not to wind up on the scrap heap of discarded

ideas, it should relate career alternatives to the ongoing changes in our society and offer the student realistic options.

Moreover, how realistic are career options with an administration in Washington willing to consider our economy operating at full employment when over 5% of our workforce (10% in Michigan) is unemployed? It seems clear that career options and career education can only become meaningful when there are jobs available for everyone seeking work.

If career education is looked on as a means of restoring the so-called "work ethic," this attempt, will not succeed. There is no "dignity of labor" where the work is on dead-end, dull, repetitive, meaningless jobs. Workers need no catch phrases to understand how to bring dignity to the work place. They do so when they join unions so they can have a voice in determining their working conditions.

THE POLITICS AND FINANCING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

We hear a good deal about the costs of education, and the burden of taxes levied to pay for the educational process. With the single exception of the national defense budget, no other public activity is as costly as education.

Who pays the most and who profits the most from this vital social function?

Financial support for the public schools comes from three sources: the local school district, the state government, and the federal government. A popular misconception is that the federal contribution to public education is the largest source of funds — the fact is that it contributes the smallest share — only about 8 percent of all the funds expended on public education.

The largest single source of support for the schools still comes from the local school district. State governments are the second main source of financial support. Revenues from these sources are raised mainly through the property tax or sales tax, both being regressive and inequitable.

This means that the tax burden is felt disproportionately by those school districts with the greatest educational needs, and with an eroded tax base to finance these needs. This means that the burden is felt most by working people, low-income families, minority groups — the very groups whose children have the greatest educational needs.

It is against this background that "busing" has been proposed as a means of attaining quality and equality of educational opportunity. The public passions aroused by this issue tend to obscure the fact that, while society professes its belief in equality in education, we still have not provided access to that equality.

Recent court decisions have focused attention on the financial crisis of the schools and are proposing changes in public school financing. In the State Supreme Court decision in California, *Serrano vs. Priest*, the Court said:

"This funding scheme invidiously discriminates against the poor because it makes the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and neighbors."

It seems clear that providing equitable solutions is beyond the capacity of state and local governments alone. There have been proposals advanced to increase the federal role in financing public education. One such proposal has been the imposition of a value-added tax by the federal government. This is a thinly disguised national sales tax, which would add another regressive and inequitable tax on the backs of working people and consumers.

Another proposal advanced by the Nixon Administration has been to reduce the federal role by abandoning such laws as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Vocational Educational Act in favor of educational revenue-sharing grants to the states. Revenue-sharing has already proved to be a cruel hoax to those states and communities that have looked to it as a source of new federal funds to relieve massive local problems.

In May, 1973, Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) Chairman of Special House Subcommittee on Education said:

**"DON'T BOOST COST; MAKE COLLEGE FREE--
Instead of supporting increased tuition for those least able to pay, I think we should return to the policy on which our land-grant, and community colleges were founded--free higher education for all."**

A survey conducted for the National Reading Council found that more than 18 million Americans aged 16 and over cannot read well enough to function according to society's normal demands. Yet the well-publicized Right-to-Read Campaign is underfinanced, although the need continues to grow.

Our public libraries, too, are being starved for funds and are finding it necessary to curtail programs.

The career education concept is looked on with favor by the Nixon Administration, yet the funds proposed to finance it are transferred mainly from the Vocational Education Act and the Higher Education Act.

By underfunding existing educational programs or by impounding funds already appropriated by Congress, the Nixon Administration has in effect abandoned this nation's commitment to quality and equality in education.

When we characterize the Nixon Administration as a big-business Administration, we mean exactly that. Back in 1960 the corporate share of the federal income tax revenue was 35 percent. By 1972, corporate taxes produced less than 27 percent of federal income taxes.

When we talk about the need for tax reform and the revenues that can be produced by closing the tax loopholes, we are talking of the billions of dollars of additional revenues each year by closing the capital gains loophole, the accelerated depreciation loophole, the investment credit, foreign tax offset, depletion allowances, and many other such inequitable measures.

By a genuine tax reform, we could make possible the complete restructuring of the federal, state and local role in financing public education and reinstate and make possible our long-sought goal of quality education and genuine equal educational opportunity.

TEACHERS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

One of the most heartening signs of the struggle for democratic education is the increasing demand of teachers for the right to participate in the decision-making process of their own profession.

Students learn about democracy not only from what is taught, but also how they are taught and how they observe the teacher acting on his or her own beliefs. If democracy is not part of the teacher's work life, then how can we expect it to be realized in the work and life of the student?

The UAW strongly supports the right of teachers to organize into unions, to bargain collectively, to improve their conditions of employment and their economic status. The UAW unequivocally endorses the right of teachers to full partnership in the educational process. Teachers have the right to be genuinely involved in educational policy decision-making, along with parents, students and community people. These measures would help to realize democracy in education.

Toward this end, the UAW endorses the efforts of the two major organizations of classroom teachers—the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association—to unify their organizations so that teachers can more effectively achieve the recognition to which they are entitled. The UAW hopes these efforts reach a successful conclusion.

BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE

The UAW's goals for public education are shaped by our philosophical commitment to a democratic society in which the talents and abilities of all its members have the genuine opportunity to develop their own talents and abilities. American society has not as yet realized this dream denied to many of its working-class and poorer members.

It is a well-documented fact that the best education is available to children of families with the highest incomes. It is equally documented that the greater educational attainment in years of schooling is directly related to expected life earnings. Thus we have a round robin that excludes

many Americans: more education equals more income; more income means more and better education.

The education philosopher, George Counts, in "Dare the Schools Build A New Social Order?", wrote:

"A society fashioned in harmony with the American democratic tradition would combat all forces tending to produce social distinctions and classes; repress every form of privilege and economic parasitism."

This is the challenge to the democratic ideal. The pursuit of excellence in education offers an unlimited horizon for democratic development of the new society and the growth of all individuals. But our goals must be directed toward this end rather than the creation of an intellectual elite based on economic class distinction.

Toward these ends the UAW endorses the following proposals:

- Free lifetime public education should be available to all Americans.
- Youth need the opportunity to learn how to cope with and function effectively in modern society so as to prepare themselves for creative citizenship.
- We must redirect education to be an instrument of social change so that genuine democracy and equality can be fully realized.
- America's priorities should be reordered, so that educational needs take precedence over military demands.
- American society can no longer afford the economic, social and human deprivation caused by functional illiteracy.
- Discrimination and racism must be rooted out of our educational system in every form.
- To help prepare students for meaningful participation in the world of work, realistic career alternatives and educational options should be offered to all students.
- Universities and colleges should be encouraged to offer a curriculum and degree in Labor Studies so that the Labor Movement can share in the learning from our institutions of higher education.
- The concept of community-based learning in "schools-without-walls" and similar educational innovations, should be encouraged.
- Since education is a lifelong process relevant, tuition-free courses in high schools and colleges in their communities should always be available to all retirees.
- Genuine tax reform should be initiated based on ability to pay and the proceeds from our natural resources, such as oil shale deposits and tidelands oil, should benefit all Americans rather than a monopolistic, profit-hungry oil industry.

- Finally, to assure a system of public education that is veto-proof, we must redouble our efforts to elect a veto-proof Congress that will be fully responsive to the needs and aspirations of all Americans.

The threats to global survival today are greater than any society has ever faced. Crisis is heaped upon crisis, day after day. The dangers of war and mutual atomic annihilation, environmental pollution, depletion of world resources, population growth, energy crisis, famine and food shortage—these are the items we confront in our daily newspapers and lives. Can our education system recognize this reality and teach our youth how to deal with these problems?

We seek constantly to improve the quality of life for ourselves and coming generations. But, unless we create an educated citizenry which can devise the strategies for global survival, we must face the possibility that civilization as we know it may not survive.

UAW Education Department
Statement on Public Education, May, 1974



THOUGHTS ON THINKING AND EDUCATION

Iron rusts from disuse, stagnant water loses its purity and in cold weather become frozen; even so does inaction sap the vigor of the mind.

Leonardo da Vinci

There is no adequate defense, except stupidity, against the impact of a new idea.

Percy W. Bridgman

It requires a very unusual mind to undertake the analysis of the obvious.

A. N. Whitehead

An educated man should be recognized by his independence of thought, his capacity to feel the needs of his fellow man, and his passionate and courageous insistence upon the primacy of truth and justice in human relations.

Kenneth B. Clark